

# The AMERICAN TEACHER

MARCH, 1939



*Support Federal Aid*

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS • In Two Parts—Part I

# Inside the Cover

**The Congressional Record of February 1, 1939,** carries a reprint of *Chairman Dies vs. Founding Fathers* which appeared in the December, 1938, issue of the **AMERICAN TEACHER**. Congressman Lee Geyer, former president of Local 430 (Los Angeles) for the past two years, liked the article so much he had it read into the *Record*.

\* \* \*

**Mrs. Dilling:** Recently a citizen in a large midwestern town gave \$500 to a local civil-liberties organization which he had never heard of until you denounced it in your talk there. . . . **Mr. J. P. Morgan:** Your sweet peas won a prize in a recent New York flower show. . . . **Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Mussolini:** Your respective nations have been assigned adjoining pavilions at the New York World's Fair and the rumor is that you will divide up the space allotted to smaller nations. . . . **Mississippi:** You are the only state without some form of workman's compensation law. . . . **Massachusetts:** Your house of representatives just voted down the child-labor amendment by a vote of 195 to 13 which is the fifteenth time in fifteen years that the amendment has been rejected by you. . . . **Senator Reynolds:** On February 21, 1939, you referred to, and had printed in the *Congressional Record*, excerpts from a "very interesting booklet, evidently prepared by an extremely able man," one Louis B. Ward of Detroit. . . . Did you know, Senator Reynolds, that Mr. Ward is Father Coughlin's chief lobbyist? . . . **A. T. & T.:** Now that the state supreme court of New York has declared it is legal to swear over the telephone, what are the rates to Berlin? . . . **National Teachers Union of England:** Is it true that English infants are being encouraged to play with gas masks until they are old enough to wear them? . . . **Texas via Mr. Garner:** Thousands of W.P.A. workers, most of them Mexicans, have been dropped in your state under the new citizenship requirements. . . . **Senator Wagner:** You may be the first witness if and when the N.L.R.B. hearings are held.

\* \* \*

After the "Town Hall of the Air" program in which the Ickes-Gannett debate on freedom of the press took place, the Newspaper Guild made a study of the treatment of the story in fifteen newspapers in which Gannett had exclusive or majority control. They found that these papers gave an aggregate of 487 inches of space to Gannett's speech and 158 inches to Ickes. Two stories failed to mention that Ickes also spoke, while one newspaper claimed that Ickes' speech was not available so published only the complete text of Gannett's talk.

A recent summary of an investigation

of the newspaper reviews of George Seldes' *Lords of the Press* indicates that the newspapers can't take it. Apparently the only newspaper criticized in the book which gave it fair treatment in its columns was the *Boston Transcript*. The *New York World-Telegram*, after inviting its readers to write their frank opinions of its editorial policies and news content discovered that out of some 700 letters 28.7 per cent gave the paper a favorable rating while 25.6 per cent wrote unfavorable comments.

\* \* \*

**To members of the Educational Policies Committee:** The March issue of the *Adult Study Guide* (Division of General Education, New York University, 20 Washington Square North, New York, N. Y.) is entitled, "Understanding Our Schools and Colleges." It lists and describes a number of excellent publications which interpret various aspects of education to the public. I was a little disappointed in the "Know Your Schools" series which is being published by the Office of Education. Three pamphlets in this series, "Know Your Principal," "Know Your Superintendent," and "Know Your Teacher," have been published. Unfortunately they deal with these subjects in a technical manner far beyond the comprehension of the layman, and one looks in vain for one little photograph.

\* \* \*

According to an analysis of bank deposits made by the Federal Reserve Board and the W.P.A. of the 1933 bank holiday, the wealthy depositors had already withdrawn much of their money, leaving the small depositors holding the bag. An account of the report appearing in the March issue of the Federal Reserve Board bulletin declares that in the period of 1930-33 a decrease of 70 per cent took place in the balances of demand deposits of \$100,000 or over. This was contrasted with a reduction of 6 per cent in the balances of accounts of less than \$500.

\* \* \*

**Two members of the United Mine Workers Union** who were elected to the Wyoming state legislature were praised by the *Wyoming Eagle* for their work during the session which just ended. The editorial said that David Gilfillan of Superior and A. L. Zeiher of Reliance, "who make their living by digging coal in the coal mines in Sweetwater County, were definitely the outstanding members of the house of representatives."

\* \* \*

**The office employees of the Foreign Policy Association,** publishers of books and pamphlets on world affairs, did a clever job which won them a contract involving salary increases of \$1 to \$6 weekly, a \$21 minimum instead of a \$15

minimum, seniority rights, and a grievance committee. The employees, using the style of the charts which appear in the Foreign Policy pamphlets, did a chart which showed how much lower their salaries were than the minimum for women suggested by the state labor department of New York.

\* \* \*

**Federated Press is peddling these two:** On the day that the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. peace committees met at the White House to begin peace negotiations, some of the local correspondents, at the instigation of the horse-loving press agent of one of the organizations, bet on a horse named Perfect Peace, running at a race track in Florida. Perfect Peace finished a limping last.

Later at the New York peace sessions newspaper men amused themselves by pitching pennies in the corridor while the session dragged on. An A. F. of L. man won 82 cents from C. I. O. tossers whom he had warned in advance of his prowess.

\* \* \*

**One of the most interesting letters** from a member of the American Federation of Teachers is one which disagrees with an editorial appearing in the February issue and asks us to:

"Kindly omit my name from your mailing list in the future. I am a proud member of the D. A. R. What that organization does with its privately owned property is not the business of the public. Only evil and corruption need fear the Dies Committee.

"W. P. A. appropriations should be reduced as I know many could find employment if they so desired."

\* \* \*

**This month's orchid goes to the American Federation of Actors** (President, Sophie Tucker) which decided recently that jokes about W. P. A. will be considered punishable by fine or suspension. . . . Reason: it humiliates A. F. of A. members and other unionists employed on government projects. . . . **JAUREZ** which runs some fifteen reels will be shown in two parts, one day or one week apart. . . . Not to be missed is R. K. O.'s **BOY SLAVES**, an exceptionally honest screen play about peonage of children in the south. . . . credit goes to Albert Bein and P. J. Wolfson and Anne Shirley and a great cast of new kids. . . . **A CARGO OF INNOCENCE**, a story of Spanish refugees has been shelved by M. G. M. because it's not entertainment. . . . **Maxine Sullivan**, Negro Swing singer, quit house-maiding two years ago because she was too slight to stand the strain. . . . comes from Homestead, Pa. . . . never took a singing lesson. . . . started singing with a family band. . . . received \$50 for the "Loch Lomond" recording which sold over 100,000 records. . . . is making **ST. LOUIS BLUES** in Hollywood. . . . the Screen Directors Guild has signed a contract with the producers which will give directors more to say about their own work and makes them directly responsible to the studio head. . . . France and Russia use the same system. . . . G. T. G.

# The AMERICAN TEACHER

Published by The American Federation of Teachers

VOLUME XXIII

MARCH, 1939

NUMBER 6

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## THE AMERICAN TEACHER

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Editor

ENTERED as second class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of February 28, 1925, authorized November 3, 1926.

SUBSCRIPTION: \$2.50 for the year—Foreign \$2.60—Single copies, 35c. Published monthly except June, July and August, at 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal or express money orders, draft, stamps, or check.

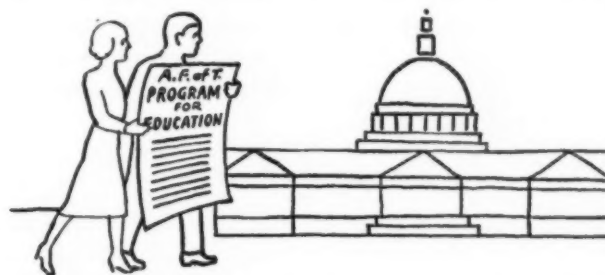


HEARINGS ON THE Senate Federal Aid for Education Bill, S. 1305, were held in Washington March 3 to 10 before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, with the witnesses testifying before the capable and efficient Committee chairman, Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah.

Among others, representatives from the National Education Association, the American Council on Education, the Advisory Committee on Education, the W. P. A. Education Division, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the Friends of the Public Schools testified before the Committee. All of these organizations were in favor of the Federal Aid Bill except the Friends of the Public Schools which

was represented by its president, Major Amos R. Fries, Washington, D. C., and its vice president, Wilbur Helm, Evanston, Ill. The Friends of the Public Schools have already charged in their bulletin that the Bill provides for "a Soviet system of nurseries" for the benefit of career mothers and paves the way for an entirely new kind of centralized education.

This organization which, according to its officers, has some 6,000 dues-paying members, stressed the fact that it was appearing before the Committee as a lay group, not realizing apparently that the representatives of the



A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. were certainly representing a significant portion of the lay public at the hearings.

The "Report of the Hearings on the Federal Aid Bill" may be obtained by writing to Senator Thomas. We urge all members of the A. F. of T. to get this, read it, and circulate it as a means of rallying support for the Federal Aid Bill.

★ ★ ★

THE FIRST "LITTLE DIES COMMITTEE" has been created in the State of Colorado where its job will be to investigate the Denver schools. Charges against the Denver schools have been made by Representative Eudochia Bell Smith. Because the legislature failed to appropriate any public funds for this Committee, it has appealed to Dies for federal funds and the loan of federal investigators. Press dispatches have reported that private sources have offered to finance this Committee of the State House of Representatives. Commenting on this plan, the Greeley, Colorado, *Times Republican* asked editorially, "What could be more un-American than the private financing of a legislative club to be used in an extra-judicial manner to punish those who do not agree with the committeemen's preconceived idea of what Americanism is?"

How thorough and how accurate such investigations are likely to be may be judged by the recent investigation by the Detroit School Board of charges made against Detroit teachers at a local hearing of the Dies



Committee. The *Detroit Educational News* of March 15, under the heading, "Board Exonerates Teachers of Dies Committee Charges," published the complete report of the Board's investigation of these charges, which was adopted unanimously by the Detroit Board of Education at its meeting on February 14. In its report the Board Committee called attention to the fact that it not only investigated the outside activities of the teachers involved, but also investigated "the teaching of subversive doctrines in the classrooms of the Detroit schools." Needless to say, the Committee found that the teachers in question had "records of long and satisfactory service which prompted confidence in their statements and their answers to our questions."

"Without exception, although in varied degree, the Committee was told by Principals, Directors, and Supervisors to whom the investigated teachers are responsible, that their teaching records are satisfactory, and that they are rendering valuable service; we were told also that there has been no indication or evidence of any sort of the introduction of personal political beliefs or subversive doctrines in the classroom or in any other way so far as the knowledge of the Supervisors is concerned. The service of some of those in question was characterized as outstanding."

★ ★ ★

**P**URCHASES OF INDUSTRIAL MUNITIONS by anti-union employees is the principal cause of violence in labor disputes, the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, headed by Senator Robert M. La Follette, declared in a report submitted to the Senate this month.

Following two and a half years of intensive study of industrial warfare, the Committee is sponsoring a bill in the Senate to forbid the sale of gas or firearms to industrial concerns for use in any kind of labor dispute.

The Committee reported that for the years 1933-37 corporations purchased more gas equipment than all law-enforcement agencies combined.

"In fact," the report stated, "the largest purchaser of gas equipment in the country, the Republic Steel Company, bought four times as much as the largest law-enforcement purchaser."

The Committee found that 20 corporations or employer associations in the five-year period purchased

\$375,992 worth of gas and gas equipment while 18 law-enforcement agencies in the same period spent only \$183,635. The four largest industrial purchasers, Republic Steel, \$79,712; United States Steel, \$62,028; Bethlehem Steel, \$36,173; and Youngstown Sheet and Tube, \$28,386, together accounted for more than the entire purchases of the 18 largest public purchasers.

★ ★ ★

**A**S CONGRESS DEBATES the \$150,000,000 emergency W. P. A. appropriation, few educational leaders seem aware of how much is at stake. There is no need here to recount the fine work which has been done by the W. P. A. cultural projects or to emphasize the suffering among W. P. A. workers which will inevitably follow their dismissal from the projects. Rather, we want to discuss what may happen to public education if Garner's "economy bloc" prevails. If the projects should be abandoned, it will be only a short time before the local relief agencies will be faced with providing for the dismissed W. P. A.-ers.

Let us see what this may mean in a city such as Chicago. According to some relief officials, in a relatively short time there would be an increase of approximately 50 per cent in the number of relief clients dependent on the Chicago Relief Administration. The relief officials would either have to find an additional \$1,500,000 a month from state and city funds or reduce relief allowances. The latter can hardly be done; already Chicago's relief administration—incidentally, one of the best in the country—is providing only 85 per cent of its minimum subsistence budget for food, shelter, and heat. The effort to secure additional funds for relief would be almost certain to result in a serious retrenchment drive in every city. In fact, we already have illustrations of the unwise measures that legislatures may adopt to find money for relief; in New Jersey the state legislature raided the teacher's pension funds in its frenzied search for means of getting money without raising taxes. In short, a slash in W. P. A. funds this year may mean that next year school funds will feel the axe. And, the same groups that lead the fight against W. P. A. are those which will be in the vanguard of a future attack on education.

There is another important consideration. Until recently relief has been financed on an emergency basis. Now, as the realization dawns that unemployment and relief are not to be treated as transitory phenomena, a change is being made to more stable methods of budgeting and financing relief. As this transition proceeds, teachers and friends of education must be on the alert and must help formulate practical and humane policies. For there are those who want to finance relief at the expense of the schools. Unless we make sure that the Federal Government bears the share appropriate to its power to tax wealth wherever that may exist, the shift of burden to the states and cities will have disastrous repercussions in drastically curtailed school opportunities for America's children.





# The President's Page

## PREJUDICE

**C**HILDREN START LIFE without race prejudice. They soon acquire it from society. The school environment may be a fertile breeding ground since the contagion passes from person to person. Oftentimes children will bandy around such epithets as "dago," "nigger," "Jew," without the slightest comprehension of what they mean.

Propaganda has much to do with the inculcation of these attitudes in others. Everyone knows the terrible consequences of the anti-Jewish persecutions in Germany. In the United States the government does not foster such propaganda but there are about eight hundred pro-fascist and pro-Nazi organizations which do. They have conducted a studied campaign to make "Jew" and "Communist" terrible ogres in the public mind. In large measure they have achieved this as far as "Communist" is concerned and they have gone a long way in making the term "Jew" odious to many.

To show how they operate let us cite a few instances. The conservative columnist for the *Herald-Tribune* has attacked the German Government. Therefore, *Liberation*, the Silvershirt weekly, denounces her as a Jew, declaring her real name is Dorothy Thompson Levy. Another propaganda sheet, the *Defender*, declares that the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is Communist. The American Nationalist Confederation declares that John A. Ryan, a well-known Catholic educator, is a Communist, while the *Revealer* has purported to show "Roosevelt's Jewish Ancestry."

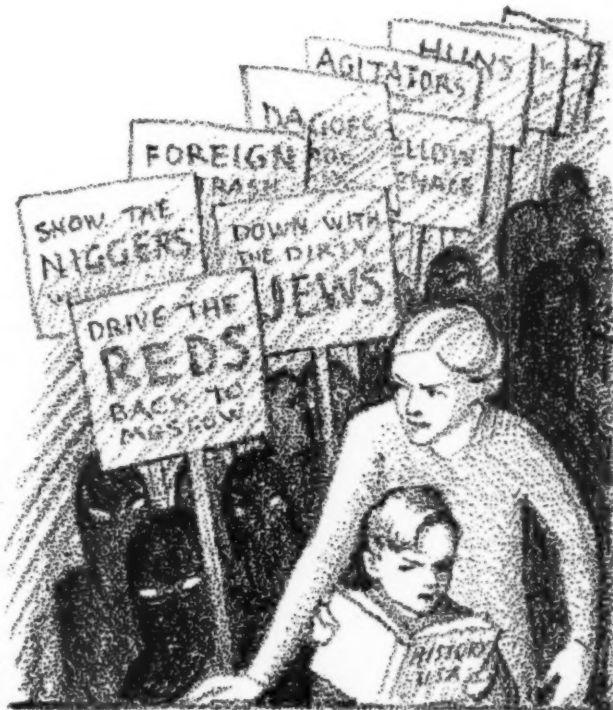
In addition to this type of propaganda America has her own special brand of racial prejudice against the Negro. Even Congress has thus far been unwilling to act to stop lynching. It is not only in the South that racial intolerance occurs. Every year our Federation has the greatest difficulty in finding hotels which provide equal treatment to all delegates, white and black. Even at our Convention in 1937 in Madison, Wisconsin, we found racial intolerance. A waiter in one of the leading hotels actually broke up the dishes that one of our Negro delegates had used before the very eyes of the Negro himself.

Racial prejudice is like a dread contagion which sweeps over mountains, across oceans, and brushes aside national barriers. No one should be naive enough to think anti-semitism ravages only Nazi and fascist cultures. It is true it is incubated and propagated in such culture pockets. Just as the deadly malaria mosquitoes breed in the swamps, so anti-semitism lives and moves and has its being in the Nazi and fascist culture, but

it also comes even to free America. And the worst of it is that we have not discovered a real method of quarantining this deadly pestilence. It comes to us by cable in the morning newspaper; it dazzles our eyes in the movies and we can't help absorbing it as we listen to the radio in our homes.

One index of all this is the restrictions imposed on Jewish students in our eastern colleges, not to mention prejudice within campus walls. Consider the Jewish student graduating with honors and winning his doctorate with brilliance, yet having almost all college teaching positions denied him. Indeed, anti-semitism is so ingrained in the very fibre of the social order in which Americans grow up that they hardly know that they have been subjected to it. Let me cite two examples:

A friend of mine, whose whole life has championed racial equality, was invited to lecture in a leading Jewish synagogue. Much to his surprise when he took the platform and looked at the audience, it was only here and there he could detect a Jewish face, and so he concluded that it was Gentiles who had come to hear him. Afterwards he asked the presiding Rabbi why it was that more Jews had not attended the lecture. "Why," said the Rabbi, "they were all Jews." My friend suddenly came to the realization that all his life



he had been carrying around a mental stereotype of a Jew and so he had thought there were few in the audience.

Again, the son of a Protestant minister who was very proud of his absolute racial tolerance told me about his son who attended public school and gradually learned from some of the students that Jews were to be looked down upon. When the boy communicated these ideas to his father, he was told that this was a very wrong attitude, that Jews were just as good as anyone else, and that some of the greatest leaders, including Jesus of Nazareth, were Jews. The boy said nothing but the next day after school came back to his father and said, "Dad, is it really true that Jesus was a Jew?" "Why, yes, of course, my son. I am trying to build the pattern of my life on his ideals." "All right, Dad," said the boy, "but if that's true, I just want you to know that I'm off this Jesus business for life."

Now, what can be done to stop this deadly infection which, if allowed to persist, may destroy the ideals of free democratic America? It is not enough to teach the realities of the Nazi menace, to portray the terrible example of the destruction of culture in Germany, we must also do positively and creatively.

Our schools must not only teach racial equality, they must demonstrate it in the school and community life. Racial prejudice must be painted in its true colors, just as murder, theft, and lying are. The man or woman who insinuates that someone must not be elected because of his race should be pilloried as a traitor to American ideals. In the schools, over the radio, in the press, and in the moving pictures, the great achievements of Jewish and Negro writers, thinkers, and doers should be recorded so that no American could longer tolerate the myth of Nordic superiority.

Thus, just as we can reduce the incidence of disease by building strong, healthy bodies in healthy communities, even if an occasional individual is struck down, so we can prevent racial prejudice and political intolerance by building individuals and communities which are propaganda-proof. Our communities must so understand and practice democracy that racial prejudice and the hurling of "Communist" at all we disagree with will be a thing of the past. Prejudice is the very antithesis of democracy.

Let every member of our Federation be an educator of racial understanding and good will.

JEROME DAVIS

# The Pattern of American Culture

◆ ROBERT LYND

OURS IS A CULTURE of increasing mass-living in urban units. The portion of the total population of the United States living in urban places with 8,000 or more population has risen from 3 per cent in 1790, to 7 per cent in 1830, to 16 per cent in 1860, to 33 per cent in 1900, and to 49 per cent in 1930.<sup>1</sup> "By 1930 there were nearly 15 times as many rural people in the United States as there were in 1790, but there were more than 300 times as many urban people. . . . In 1929 there were concentrated in 155 [of the more than 3,000] counties containing the larger industrial cities, 64.7 per cent of all of the industrial establishments, 74 per cent of all industrial wage earners, 80.7 per cent of all salaried officers and employees. Moreover, 78.8 per cent of all wages and 82.9 per cent of all salaries in the country were paid in these [155] counties."<sup>2</sup> Not only does the urban pattern

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◆ This article, which is printed with permission of the publishers, is a section from Dr. Robert Lynd's new book, *Knowledge for What?* which will be published on April 10 by Princeton University Press. Robert Lynd is one of America's outstanding scholars and co-author of *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*, two studies which have been widely praised by students of American life.

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now dominate our culture quantitatively, but with growing intercommunication and the concentration of the sources of diffusion within large cities, the urban population is increasingly calling the tune for the patterning of the entire culture.

While this growing urbanization derives predominantly from economic causes, such as the concentration of industry in the "easy labor market" which a dense population affords and the resulting multiplication of retailing and other service activities among such a dense

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Census, *Population*, Vol. I, 1930, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy*. Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), pp. 1-2.



population, the growth of cities has also been influenced by other factors. Urban living represents the most favorable environment for those wishing to benefit by the resources of the culture. On the personal side, the city presents the opportunity for rich, selective acquaintanceship in the pursuit of personal growth. On the material side, the overhead cost of providing desirable modern services—from labor-saving utilities to schools and the arts—can best be borne when widely shared. Without, therefore, by any means going to the extreme of Marx and Engels in speaking of “the idiocy of rural life,”<sup>3</sup> one may nevertheless say that the city is potentially a “natural” as a way of life for modern man. The inchoate character of urban life in our culture, which prompts some to characterize great cities as “wens of civilization,” is not an evidence of the intrinsic weakness of urbanism, but rather of the pathologies that occur when urban units are allowed to develop casually as an adjunct to the individual scramble for wealth.<sup>4</sup> We have not as yet addressed ourselves to the task of building urban communities in the social sense.<sup>5</sup> Fifty thousand families, paying their gas bills, mowing their lawns, jockeying their way through traffic to jobs in offices and factories, and sitting side by side watching movies, do not necessarily constitute “a community.”

Whereas the close, personalized contacts of the neighborhood encouraged spontaneous social cohesion in the rural, village, and small-town matrix in which our culture took shape,<sup>6</sup> unguided spontaneity may not be relied upon to tie in the individual so securely as the population-base grows to city proportions. The rough generalization may be made that, as the size of a community grows arithmetically, the need for de-

liberate (as over against unplanned, casual) organization that weaves the individual into the group life increases in something like a geometrical progression. Urbanism in our culture has been almost entirely a matter of material change. As just pointed out, under the doctrine of casualness virtually no attention has been paid to the planning and perfecting of the non-material factor of social organization.

Many of those who migrate to our larger cities pride themselves on the fact that “Now, thank God, I don’t have to know my neighbors, go to Rotary, belong to a church, or participate in an annual Community Chest drive!” And the big city does little to disabuse them of this attitude. Individuals can and do live comfortably in our large cities with no formal ties between themselves and the structures of the culture save the money tie between them and their job. One may or may not elect to exercise one’s political right to vote; one may or may not own property, marry, or belong with anybody else to anything; but one must tie into the structure to the extent of getting money regularly. The culture puts an extreme reliance upon this money nexus between the individual and his job to hold the culture together. As jobs are given to individuals and not to families, the latter institution suffers. Urban folk delay marriage and in some cases elect not to marry; and kinship ties are narrowing and attenuating. Citizenship ties are weakening in our urban world to the point that they are largely neglected by large masses of people.<sup>7</sup> Neighborhood and community ties are not only optional but generally growing less strong; and along with them is disappearing the important network of intimate, informal social controls traditionally associated with living closely with others. Religious ties are so completely optional and tenuous that the church has sunk to its weakest point in our national history as an active instrument of cultural structuring. Leisure ties are increasing in number but are highly unstable.

The individual’s identifying tag derived from his job and the property it yields him tends to be heavily overworked as the fragile basis for social cohesion. The common focus is not on living together but on “the job.” Such feelings of community as our culture has had in the smaller and more localized world of the past are

<sup>3</sup> *The Communist Manifesto*.

<sup>4</sup> It is important to bear in mind that the lack of common purposes under our type of culture is neither a new nor a transitory phase, despite its identification with the spirit of the passing “frontier”; but, rather, that it is dictated by the very structure of a culture which assumes that the community derives the best out of the conflict of private interests. Urbanism points up this tendency in the culture as sharply as it does primarily because cities embody most unrestrainedly the restless, predatory quality which the culture encourages. De Tocqueville described the resulting inevitable conflict a hundred years ago in words that are if anything more true today than when he wrote them: “Not only are the rich not compactly united among themselves, but there is no real bond between them and the poor. Their relative position is not a permanent one; they are constantly drawn together or separated by their interests. The workman is generally dependent on the master, but not on any particular master; these two men meet in the factory, but know not each other elsewhere; and while they come into contact on one point, they stand very far apart on all others. The manufacturer asks nothing of the workman but his labor; the workman expects nothing from him but his wages. The one contracts no obligation to protect, nor the other to defend; and they are not permanently connected either by habit or by duty. . . . Between the workman and the master there are frequent relations, but no real partnership.” (*Democracy in America*, Vol. II, Part II, Bk. II, Chap. xx.)

<sup>5</sup> See Lewis Mumford’s *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938).

<sup>6</sup> Six out of every seven of the urban places in the United States of 1790 had less than 10,000 population.

<sup>7</sup> In the mayoralty election of 1923 in Chicago, studied by Merriam and Gosnell in *Non-Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. viii-x), only 723,000 of the 1,400,000 eligible electors bothered to go to the polls.

actually declining throughout the culture today.<sup>8</sup> This carelessness about common sentiment is part of the general orientation toward matter-of-factness in a culture stressing material development, personal mobility, and postponement of the subtleties of living. At point after point our culture plays down extensive, acute, and subtle feeling. To be "businesslike" is to be "impersonal"; in our moments of deep, personalized emotion we tend to retreat from others into ourselves or to the trusted tolerance of our immediate family; a businessman who is "artistic" may be somewhat suspect; being "romantic" or "idealistic" is regarded as an evidence of youth; and the person who "gets enthusiastic about things" is mildly disparaged as immature and "unsound." Human beings do not easily live so emotionally sterilized. So we burst out periodically in sex, drinking, hard-driving week ends, and gusts of safe, standardized feeling at the movies and football games. Mickey Mouse and Charlie McCarthy tend to displace Uncle Sam and local symbols as repositories of common sentiment. They sweep the country because there is so little else to feel about in common. They offer little identification of our personal rhythms of feeling with the deeper purposes of the culture as a whole and with our common goals as members of it.

No large society can long exist which is careless of this element of community in feeling and purpose. The tactics of a Hitler are profoundly right in so far as they recognize and seek to serve the need of human beings for the constant dramatization of the feeling of common purpose. In our own culture, the roots of the earlier forms of common sentiment were in certain structuralized forms of authoritarian security: church, nation, local community, and family. These latter, with the exception of nationalism, have weakened or disintegrated with the growth of historical criticism, science, and a mobile individualism. The democratic right of the individual to think—or to think that he thinks—has played its part in the discrediting of some of these earlier authorities that were wont to focus men's feelings. And

<sup>8</sup> The decaying structure of American "holidays" as occasions continually rebuilding common sentiment is a mute and too little recognized evidence of this process of emotional disintegration. Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, and Labor Day have lost their ceremonial observations and are occasions for private holiday; while Thanksgiving is so sunk in football games and turkey-dinners that the annual Presidential proclamation has become a quaint curiosity.

It is not the loss of specific meaning of these "holidays" to which reference is here made. The point is, rather, that they formerly helped to contribute the binding mortar of common sentiment to the culture; and as their specific traditional meanings have worn thin to modern man, they have simply been abandoned and no emotionally rich substitutes put in their place.

democracy, interpreted largely as the right to be free to take or leave the world about one and to acquire private property, has afforded little new basis for deep common sentiment. The heavy current reliance upon a man's job (and the resulting offensive-defensive balance of property rights) to hold our culture together is caused, not so much by the fact that people want only money, as by the fact that this is the clearest value that remains in a culture which has allowed other values to trickle away. The popularity of the disillusioned sophistication of a book like Thurman Arnold's *The Folklore of Capitalism* is an evidence of how little modern capitalist democracy has left us to work for and to feel strongly together about.

Nationalism remains and it is taking over the role of creating common sentiment on a grand scale. But common sentiment sprayed over a population from the top down, and not living and growing richly at the grass-roots of a culture, loses its vitality. Human beings crave big, aggregating symbols on a culture-wide scale, but they also crave localized and highly personalized meanings. Human loyalties are largely built of an infinite number of shared purposes in commonplace daily acts.

Whatever one may think of the over-all rightness or wrongness of the Soviet Union, the social scientist must approve the basic soundness of the social "activism" it encourages in individuals. A member of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. is expected to be active "politically, culturally," and in his trade union." As a result, these individuals undertake responsibility for helping, through their active social participation, to build or to operate some small part of the social structure. This social activism spreads beyond Party members, though the Party remains the instigating nucleus. As a result, "something over half"<sup>10</sup> the entire adult population of the city of Moscow, for instance, is estimated to be actively engaged in some form of this socially integrative work. Children of our Boy Scout age begin to learn habits of socially directed participation in the Young Pioneer organization, while in the late 'teens and early twenties the Com-

<sup>9</sup> "Culturally" here refers to reading and study and to participation in those aspects of life not comprised in the immediately political and economic. "Cultural activism" appears in the mounting consumption of books of all kinds, and in the vigorous and pervasive development of the arts, athletics, and other varied group activities in communities and neighborhoods of all sizes.

<sup>10</sup> This is a "rough estimate" made to the writer by a Soviet official in Moscow in the summer of 1938. The estimate includes all grades and degrees of activism, from the Party member to the non-Party person, e.g., including the housewife who assumes responsibility for seeing that the people in her apartment building know about a given group activity and are invited to participate.



somols (junior Party members) undertake such work in earnest. Underlying such activism are the two assumptions that it is bad for a culture to allow its human participants to become socially lost in the shuffle and that every human being has somewhere within him an active or potential interest in *something* which, if shared with others, will make both him and the culture stronger. To a student of American urban living, any such organized effort to build a neighborhood, a city, or a collective farm socially around the common interests of individuals stands out in sharp contrast to our own casualness in regard to such things. If cities and straggling countrysides are not to continue to isolate an unduly large number of individuals and to dissipate their potentialities for group living, some such fundamentally sound selective and organizational program of social activism will have to be

adopted and pushed for all it is worth. Whether such a program can be developed within the divisive dynamics of private capitalism is another question which would have to be examined by itself.

We are today living through the end of that phase of our cultural history which was dominated by the quest for the conditions of individual liberty. Heavily laden with institutions developed to that end, we are reluctantly moving into a new phase in which we must somehow manage to rewrite our institutions in terms of organized community of purpose. To this end we may no longer conceive of the state as simply a kind umpire over what Sir Henry Maine called "the beneficent private war which makes one man strive to climb on the shoulders of another and remain there through the law of the survival of the fittest."

# Democracy and Intellectual Freedom<sup>1</sup>

◆ FRANZ BOAS

THE COMPLEXITIES OF MODERN LIFE compel us to recognize that the economic actions of each individual have such a profound influence upon the well-being of our fellow citizens, even of members of foreign nations, that we cannot indulge in that robust individuality characteristic of earlier days, when every household was much more nearly self-sufficient than it is now. The causes of this change are well-known and primarily due to the achievements of science.

The restrictions which we accept as unavoidable consequences of the inventive genius of mankind and the size of our population do not extend over the domain of thought. Even if we wanted to do so, we could not maintain absolute individualism in social and economic life, but it is the goal to which we strive in intellectual and spiritual life. It took us a long time to free thought from the restraints of imposed dogma. This freedom has not by any means been achieved

completely. The thoughts of many are unconsciously or consciously so restrained, and attempts at forcible repression of thought that runs counter to accepted tenets of belief are still all too frequent. A bigoted majority may be as dangerous to free thought as the heavy hand of a dictator. For this reason we demand fullest freedom of expression, so that our youth may be prepared for an intelligent use of the privileges and duties of citizenship.

Notwithstanding all the lapses of which we may have been guilty, the ideal of our democracy is freedom of thought and expression. This is clearly expressed in the Declaration of Independence and in the Bill of Rights: free speech, free assembly, free press, prove that our aim is to strive for intellectual freedom. Science certainly cannot live in an atmosphere of restraint. In democratic states it has largely succeeded in shaking off the chains of dogma, at least insofar as the natural sciences are concerned. We still have to learn much in regard to freedom of research and expression in the social science, but at least we have the will to achieve it. The disposition to consider as heresy a view different

<sup>1</sup>Address delivered at a meeting sponsored by the Lincoln's Birthday Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, on Sunday, February 12. This address was broadcast over station WHN.

from that in vogue and to incite passionate persecution of those holding it must be overcome. If we wish to fight prejudice, the results of honest research, whatever they may be, must become accessible to all.

There was a time when in absolute monarchies science was free as long as it did not interfere with the autocratic government, when the results of research did not find their way into the masses but remained confined to the small group devoted to intellectual pursuits.

The modern totalitarian states take a different view. They ordain what the results of scientific research shall be and do not allow work to be carried out or results to be published that run counter to their preconceived notions. Whole branches of knowledge that seem to them dangerous or irrelevant are suppressed. The value of scientific research is not measured by its intrinsic value but by the question whether the investigator is acceptable to the dictator or not.

The evil effects of such a policy are not confined to science. The tyranny extends over everyday life. No criticism, no divergent opinion is allowed and since draconic punishments are meted out to transgressors, the people become cowards; even more, since denunciation of opponents is considered a virtue, their whole morale is undermined.

The uninformed among ourselves are too apt to overlook the sacrifices by which the success of totalitarian states is purchased, and there is danger that the apparent security may allure weak souls to search for similar remedies. Irresponsible propaganda is at work to exploit such disposition.

For this reason it is our duty to be on guard. We deem intellectual and spiritual freedom the inalienable right of every individual. Democracy as conceived in our Constitution and as expressed in our daily life is a treasure that we are determined to guard under all circumstances. We have not attained the fullest measure of such freedom, but where it is not fully realized, we struggle to develop it. We consecrate ourselves to its perfection, to fight every form of censorship, exercised by government, church, vested interests, irresponsible control by governing individuals or bodies, and all other forms of suppressing freedom of expression. Our democracy gives us the right and imposes upon us the duty to devote ourselves to the development of intellectual freedom.

Today we can express our convictions only in words, but you may rest assured that we shall create an organization to strengthen democracy; that steps have been taken which will lead to the realization of this end.

## "Try, Try Again!"

♦ MARY E. KEISTER and DOROTHY E. BRADBURY

ANY MOTHER WHO OBSERVES her child systematically for an afternoon or for the better part of a morning is amazed to discover the number of things he comes up against that are difficult for him to do or the number of occasions on which he meets failure. Often she can see that his failures arise out of his limited powers of reasoning, out of his physical incapacity for certain tasks, or out of his limited ability to make himself understood through the use of language. At other times, however, his failures result from his own inability to persist at a task, his lack of self-confidence, or his emotional response to possible failure.

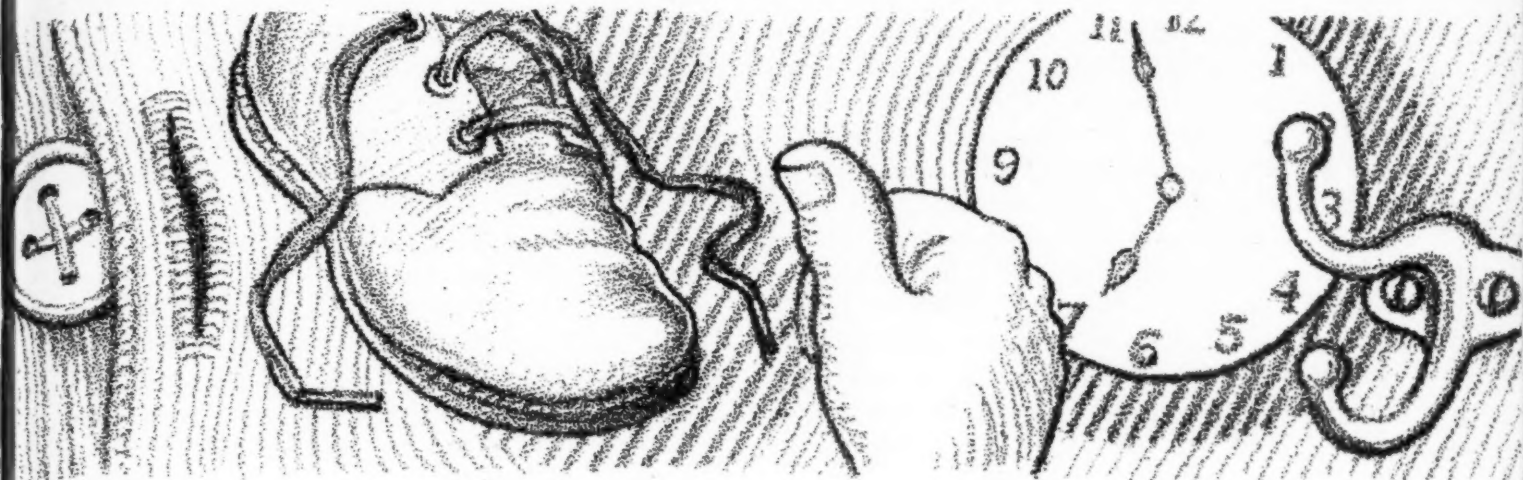
John's tricycle is stuck and will not budge because the wheel catches against the corner of the door frame each time he turns. There is the chest which Tommy cannot move, try as he will, though his teddy bear has fallen behind it. There are the children in the yard next door who, on the basis of some whim, shout when John appears, "You can't play with us! We won't let you play over here." Sara's oval peg refuses to drop into a round hole. David is faced with the difficulty of explaining to a playmate that he is going to be the "filling-station man" since he supplied the wagon and the length of old hose. Frank has difficulty manipulating the mechanism



by which the cars in his electric train are coupled together and one of the sections of track will not fit readily into its neighbor.

What are we to do if Tommy responds with a tantrum and blames the whole affair on his teddy

from three to six years of age as subjects, encourages us to believe that young children can be taught acceptable and satisfactory ways of meeting difficulties, that they can actually be trained to face failure. Two experiments were used to



bear, or if Sara runs away from the peg board, maintaining, "Oh, I can't. It's too hard for a little girl like me to do." What shall we say when Joan turns back in a burst of tears or when David starts for home, minus his possessions, shouting, "Anyway, my mother didn't want me to play with you." Shall we ignore Frank when he gives his train a semivicious kick and pulls up the track he has laboriously put together, throws them on the floor, and stalks from the room crying bitterly? Or shall we attempt to help and encourage him to succeed in coupling the cars of his train? Time was when we told ourselves we should spare our children the anguish of such situations as these, that for them to face such problems and to be unable to solve them was to undermine their self-confidence.

But psychologists tell us now that children need to come up against some problems which are hard for them, that they need some failure in order to learn not only new facts but also to learn how to persist, to discover what their own limitations and capacities are, to gain ideas of cause and effect, to learn what behavior is socially acceptable and will rightfully earn for them a place in a social group. Thus we are led to believe that it is a far greater mistake for parents or teachers to interfere to prevent children from experiencing failure than it is a virtue to get them to succeed.

A recent investigation carried on at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, using children

test the children's reactions in situations which were difficult for them. In one the child was required to move a heavy box in order to obtain the toys that were placed underneath; in the other situation the child found himself unable to replace a group of small blocks and figures in a little flat box where a moment before he had seen them lying.

Special individual training was given to a group of fifteen children who were shown by tests and by the ratings of their nursery-school teachers to be giving "babyish" and undesirable responses. Julia, for instance, always cried when she faced a difficult task. Jane sulked and asked an undue amount of help from the teacher. Sammy gave up immediately and refused to work at difficult tasks longer. Frankie excused his failures by blaming them on someone or something else. He said, "I won't try any more because your box is anyway too little. My mother always helps me when I have to put things in too little boxes." Betsey became discouraged and gave up long before she had exhausted all of the possibilities of solution in the problems. She kept repeating, "It's too hard for me to do," and "My mother doesn't want me to do hard games like this."

Plainly, reactions such as these are undesirable in a child. Apparently these children needed special training to help them meet such situations in a more desirable, straightforward, and grown-up manner. Accordingly a study was made

to determine whether children who showed such immature responses in the face of failure could be helped by special training to develop more desirable responses. The method of training used consisted in giving the children a number of problem situations which grew progressively harder as the program of training proceeded. One situation included twenty jig-saw puzzles bound together into three different books, each book of puzzles telling a connected story which held much interest for children of these ages. The puzzles became harder and harder as the child proceeded through each book. The first situations were made easy purposely, so that the children could achieve success in them and gradually build up modes of reacting to the situations which would enable them to meet adequately the demands of the more difficult ones. A block-building problem which was fully as difficult for the children and demanded as much persistence as any of the tasks required of them in the original experiments or tests was also used.

As the child progressed on to tasks that became harder for him the examiner would say to him, "You did those puzzles in the train story all by yourself yesterday. You will know how to do these by yourself, too, because they are made the same way." Or she said, "Remember the way you worked the other day? You tried and tried until you found the way to get it finished. Keep on trying now and you can get this finished too." The children were continually encouraged, "Keep on trying. Try it different ways until you find how to do it. If you keep trying, you will find the right way in a minute." The children were given some praise if they made an effort to solve the more difficult problems without asking for help. The examiner said, "Good for you! You kept right on trying until you found the way to do it, didn't you?" Or, "That's fine! You are learning to try hard and you don't need to ask me to help you any more, do you?" When the child had difficulties with the block construction tasks, the adult said to him, "Now you have a chance to build it again better than ever." Or, "Now this is a good chance for you to start over and make it straighter and steadier than before. This time you can make it still better."

It was most essential in employing these techniques to be sure that the tasks were so adjusted to the child's ability that they were not easy but also were not too hard. As the training periods proceeded it was noted that the children being trained asked less help of the examiner, even

though the problems were growing harder, they spent longer and longer times on the tasks without becoming discouraged or "giving up," and they showed greater interest in doing the work for themselves without help from anyone else. Billy began to say, "I'll try and try till I find how it goes. Oh, look! I find the way. I tried and find the way." Joan often said, "O-o-o, I'm finding a way. There! I made it alone. See, I tried every every way till I made it alone." David said, "I'm sure havin' a hardest time. but look, I'm makin' it gooder. It's gonna be gooder this time."

After the training periods were finished and the children were again tested, using one of the original experiments, much improvement in their responses was distinctly shown. Now not one of these children cried or sulked in the face of the difficulty. They asked for help less frequently, excused their failures less often, worked with interest, even absorption, for much longer periods of time in the face of continued failure, and showed by their own words a marked improvement in their attitudes toward their failures. Their attitudes changed from ones of "I can't. I can't. You do it for me," accompanied by crying or sulking, to "I'm almost gettin' this right. Pre' soon I'm gonna know how this goes. I'm tryin' and tryin', *hard*, to get these in."

Furthermore, children of the same ages as these children, who had not been given this special training, after being retested on the original tests did not show these improved attitudes. Evidently this change in attitude was not a function of age or attendance at nursery school.

These results of an actual experiment show that children, even very young children, can be taught to feel that a hard problem is an exciting challenge to their patience and ingenuity and that the process of working at it can afford as keen enjoyment as the actual successful solution will afford when they finally reach it. Thus, while still very young, children can learn that even if they do not succeed at first the thrill of working at the task for a time makes the effort worthwhile. A child can come to understand and to feel, more and more clearly as he grows older, that ultimate success in itself is insignificant in comparison to the infinitely more important fact that, in the process of achieving it, he faced the problem honestly and straightforwardly, kept his composure, and depended only upon himself for help in solving it.

These principles are of major importance to



parents and teachers. First of all they must remember that although in the study described here the problems used with the children were difficult, they were all possible of accomplishment. These principles have no reference to tasks which are impossible and against which any efforts of the child would be unavailing. Thus, the parent's problem in adapting these methods for use with his child will test his own insight and understanding of his child's level of development and achievement. First of all he must see that the task faced by the child is within the child's ability to accomplish. He must know when he is expecting too much of a child. But the instant the parent decides that the child should be able to do that for himself at *his* age, then his attitude should be one of encouragement for the child to stay with the task until

the child accomplishes it. Most children respond quickly to such comments as, "You can do it for yourself, Dear. You can do it all alone. You try it and see if you can't. Keep on trying and pretty soon you will have it done." Telling the child that the parent will be in the next room so that the child can come and tell when he has accomplished the task set by the parent is sometimes a good method to use. With the swagger of a conqueror, the child will exhibit himself clothed in his snowsuit, complete to cap and mittens, and say, "I can put it on. See, I could do it all myself!"

Thus the old adage, "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again" (providing the task is possible of accomplishment), is not only good, practical common sense but a good mental-hygiene principle as well.

# The Sterility of Scholarship

◆ PORTER SARGENT

IN THIS TIME of increased interest in international affairs we might well look for guidance to those who in endowed chairs have had nothing else to do but to understand and interpret. The news presented by our privately owned press and radio, it is possible, and we suspect may be, controlled by powerful interests to their own ends. Much of it originates in propaganda agencies and filters through foreign censorships. There have been many detailed studies of how this was effected in the last war. Since then the technique seems to have improved so much that it's less obvious.

University teachers of history, diplomacy, international affairs, social studies, should be heard from at this time. They should be better able to analyze propaganda and detect the untruths, and to warn us. But few of them have anything vital enough to say to reach the public, to win a place in the pages of the magazines, or to place their books among the brilliant jacketed that sell. We are dependent on commentators, journalists, men of affairs who write in a lively enough way to sell their articles, but who seldom have university connections.

Most of this army of endowed, subsidized col-

lege professors who occupy these chairs and settees in our universities seem to have nothing to say, and those who do express it in "heavy, stolid prosing," as Allen Nevins, professor at Columbia, describes it. In a recent magazine article, he accuses his colleagues of destroying the public's interest in history and characterizes his fellow historians as "squeezing out monographs and counting footnotes." Moreover, they falsify, garble, and distort history, he tells us in his latest book, *The Gateway to History*.

William L. Langer, professor of history at Harvard, though he has won wide recognition through his scholarly interpretation of modern diplomatic history, does not hesitate to speak out in a way to show he has withstood the Harvard tendency to make antiquarians of historians. Reviewing Nevins' book, he writes, "Curiosity about the past is innate in man. . . . We historians are chiefly to blame if historical writing is no longer vital . . . no longer has any attraction or any meaning for the average man. . . . We write untold quantities of history, but no one reads us. We read each other to some extent, but chiefly as a professional obligation. . . . We disapprove of Emil Ludwig and his kind, but at

bottom we know why they are read and we are not, and we cannot blame the reading public."

And there are other exceptions at Harvard. Samuel Eliot Morison is a brilliant writer who makes the scene live and gives significance to it. And Sidney Fay won opprobrium from the orthodox by revealing the untruths that were being taught and promoted on the causes of the last war. Among the emigrés, Carl J. Friedrich tells realistically of "Foreign Policy in the Making," and Gaetano Salvemini strips falsity from Italian propaganda. At Williams College Schuman and Lamb, of the Tyler Dennett irreconcilables, recently joined by Max Lerner, speak out boldly on the current scene.

The Harvard *Guardian* is an undergraduate publication which attempts to introduce a little life into the futile teaching of the social sciences. The *Guardian* broadcasts whenever it can find a professor who the editors think may have anything to say. Recently they organized a symposium of Yale and Harvard professors of the social sciences and published a book, *Before America Decides*, which deals with the imminent problem of future war or peace. Their learned and erudite, but cautious, sterile contributions justify Nevins' "stolid prosing." One thing is so carefully weighed against another that there is no excitement in their writing or in their lives or in their world. They are conditioned out of all enthusiasms. They live in a stale, stultified atmosphere which produces a kind of intellectual claustrophobia. Students exposed to their lectures for three or four years, one finds, show those same qualities.

But it is naive to cavil at this. The universities have their traditional functions to perform and their contemporary obligations to meet. The flow of funds to them is influenced or directed by men whose lives have been spent in the financial game, who have been conditioned to its limitations, and whose imagination and views are restricted by it. They are devoted to "those elements that make for a reign of law" as Thomas Lamont put it at Exeter, to be reiterated by Dr. Perry at the opening of school. "Law is a body of rules laid down by group authority in the interest of the group members as a whole," writes John Foster Dulles, a Wall Street lawyer, in his recent *War, Peace and Change* (Harpers, 1939).

"Practical" men, loyal to the present order, naturally have contempt for the impractical who

hold blueprints for the future, mostly vagabond rebels who unconsciously and imaginatively are forging new fetters for future generations. The fetters of the past are good enough. So the university authorities must see to it that they have servitors, loyal to the present order, if they would avoid deficits and secure the annual increment that is necessary to carry on. Once they are chosen and conditioned on this basis, why should they unnecessarily interfere with their own welfare, contentment, security, salary, and future pension? So the teaching of the social sciences is entrusted to "time-servers" and "time-binders."

What the world and the universities need is an enlarged willingness to come in contact with reality, an acknowledgement that we do not know, but should question, investigate, and plan one step at a time in our exploration, doubting and questioning all maps and blueprints that point the way to where the great treasure is buried. Let us dream if we may, theorize if we must, but not fail to scrutinize and analyze. This is the scientific method, which is the common sense of primitives and yokels who have been close to the soil, to nature, to reality.

Scholarship is so revered at our universities that it has become a great fetish. It determines who and what shall be rewarded. The shadow of this bogey lengthens out over our high schools and even grammar schools. Scholarship is so venerated that few have dared to challenge.

What is scholarship? As nearly as I can find out, it is nothing but knowing what others have written or printed on a subject. It's what the scientist dismisses as a mere preliminary study. Before he starts an investigation, he masters the "literature," knows what has been printed on the subject. But that's as far as the scholar goes, and seldom that far. The scientist, with that start, sets out to prove something wrong, setting up something for a successor or his colleagues to question. Science is merely the body of knowledge which has survived such repeated and continuous attacks.

But scholarship is an accumulation of traditions, myths, and hocus pocus, carefully preserved to lumber up many a mental attic. True, there is "critical" scholarship, which sorts out out-moded myths that no longer serve a purpose, and there is "creative" scholarship, which formulates new myths or theories about what others have written and why. But scholarship avoids



reality and deals with things at second or third or fourth hand. The product of an acquisitive society, the scholar preens himself upon his collection of antique junk.

From the scientist the scholar has borrowed terms like "original research." To the scientist this means discovering things unknown. To the scholar it means digging up something someone has written that is not generally known, adding to his pack something that some other scholar has not stuffed into his. The scholar avoids the present and disdains the future, leaving all that to the "charlatan." "The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ, moves on." Not till long after will this be of interest to the scholar, a subject of "research."

No wonder academic circles are pervaded by a tired feeling that tempts few to stray beyond their own safe compartments where, without danger, they may show such boldness as they possess in separating the chaff from the "measure of sound grain sifted by rigorous criticism."

Behind a screen of sophistication or cynicism some hide their timidity, but there is no question that a pall of fear overhangs most universities. There is a feeling that it's of little use in the social sciences to disentangle truth and falsehood, and anyway it does not matter much. A prominent Harvard undergraduate remarked recently, "I don't know of any Harvard section man who wouldn't go back on any statement he had made, if he knew the department head didn't approve."

Veblen, once an academic outcast, has now entered Valhalla, and though he is not paraded much before undergraduates in university circles where he might stir up trouble, he is read by the most circumspect. President Conant of Harvard in his Lincoln Day address, reported the *Boston Herald*, February 15, 1939, "quoted liberally from Thorstein Veblen."

It was Veblen who sardonically characterized academic scholarship. "This highly sterilized, germ-proof system of knowledge, kept in a cool, dry place, commands the affection of modern civilized mankind. . . . This esoteric knowledge of matter-of-fact has come to be accepted as something worth-while in its own right, a self-legitimizing end of endeavor in itself, apart from any bearing it may have on the glory of God or the good of man. . . . This learning has . . . become an avowed 'end in itself.'"

When into a company of such scholars there come iconoclastic "movers and shakers," break-



ers of ancient fetters, who question accepted values, there is but one thing to do—snub them, depress them, degrade them, or throw them out. And that's the current practice. They are corrupters of youth, as was Socrates.

In a static world, in an acquisitive society, in a social class that is becoming parasitic, not productive or creative, such a situation becomes inevitable. America still has vitality, but some think it is dying at the top. The dying top may look to older societies—parasitic, feudal, ecclesiastical, Tory England—for guidance and model. The aim and purpose of life then becomes to preserve what they value, what they know, to justify what is, to sanctify the past, to divert attention and interest from change.

Byzantium lasted many times longer than Britannia. Gibbon gives us a picture of Byzantine scholars and scholarship of the Tenth Century. He portrays what those in "our intellectual graveyards" may yet become if they are not jarred out of their secure complacency. "They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which

had created and improved that sacred patrimony: They read, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. . . . A succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation."

President Conant, at the 1936 Tercentenary, the time of his bold outspokening, quoted the above and declared, "That must not be allowed to happen at Harvard" (*Time*, September 28, 1936). But since then, this virile young scientific researcher has heard, they would say in London, "from 'The City.'" He has become "conditioned," "successfully and intelligently integrated." With greater caution his more measured words today show realization that the university is an "assemblage of scholars" whose function is to know and preserve the myths that are their heritage and stock-in-trade. So the university that was the hope of the world and the center of enlightenment in 1936 faces the danger that it may remain a "time-binding" institution, though man's task is to be "time-annihilating."

## Bronson Alcott's School

◆ ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

ODELL SHEPARD HAS DONE a superb piece of editing in dealing with the vast mass of material of Bronson Alcott's journals. Even the liberality of his publishers has allowed him to retain less than one-twentieth of the 5,000,000 words contained in the original fifty volumes of manuscript (now in the library of Frederic Wolsey Pratt, Alcott's great-grandson, at Concord), but he has presented fairly all of Alcott's intellectual and social interests, his relations with many of his distinguished contemporaries, his family life, and his inner, spiritual experience. In fact, he has recalled from the past and recreated a character of singular attraction and significance and added a star to the famous galaxy of New England writers with all of whom Alcott was associated—Emerson, the Channings, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Lowell, Agassiz, Henry James, Sr., Hawthorne. One of the remarkable qualities of Alcott's mind was his sane

judgment of men. Coleridge, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, he recognized as of original genius, distinguished from the secondhand—Longfellow, "a purely literary man," W. E. Channing, who "never makes an idea," Sumner, "conventional, scholastic, commonplace. His attainments are all of the Harvard cast." Altogether the journals give a most specific and delightful presentation of the extraordinary richness and intimacy of social life among those who made America's Golden Day.

The aspect of Alcott's character and career of most interest to readers of this journal is that of a teacher. The importance of this function in Alcott's life, and the transcendental spirit in which he undertook it, is indicated in a paragraph of Mr. Shepard's introduction:

First of all, then, and always, Bronson Alcott was a teacher. His teaching bound his life together as firmly as his thought was unified by a single article of faith. He held that true teaching—by which he never meant mere instruction—involves an ascent to a common spiritual level. Far more so-



cially minded than Emerson, who said that "we descend to meet," he believed that for all true meeting of minds we must rise above dispute and fact-peddling to the heights of Spirit on which we realize that we are one. Good teaching was therefore a sharing of mind with mind. It was a process in which all those concerned were engaged in recollecting what, in some sense, they already knew.

It was natural that, dealing directly with the soul through "intimations of immortality" derived from a primal unity of spirit, Alcott should have found the best material for his pedagogic art in children. At the age of fifty he wrote with a certain nostalgia:

Children were once my companions. Time was when I lived almost exclusively with them, and was privileged beyond most men in being the centre of a lively circle—I was the greater gainer, and those days were golden. But of late I have been drawn aside from this intimacy by pursuits and objects more intellectual and ideal. The diversion has come against my will and wishes and by force of circumstances. I have accepted and submitted against long-cherished hopes and endeavors, seeing it must be so.

These words embody the tragedy of Alcott's life. Preeminently fitted by temperament and understanding to be a teacher of children, he was driven from that occupation time and again by the hostility of conventional and stupid people. Alcott's attitude toward society was colored by a wholesome anarchism, which, as in the case of Francisco Ferrer, made him the more original and inspiring teacher. He was not called like Ferrer to face the firing squad, but he was no less truly a martyr in the cause of education.

Alcott forsook peddling for teaching when he was twenty-five years old. The first entries in his journal, begun a year later, concern almost entirely his experience in Cheshire, Connecticut, where he tried to introduce the methods of Pestalozzi. The first entry in Mr. Shepard's volume is the protest of the honest teacher, from Socrates to Ferrer. "Those who in modern times attempt in education anything different from the old established modes are by many regarded as public innovators on the peace and order of society, as persons desirous of destroying the structure which secures present happiness, and of substituting in its place anarchy and confusion." Driven from Cheshire by opposition to his methods, he took a school at Bristol, Connecticut, at a salary of \$23 a month and board. Here also his engagement was not renewed, and accordingly he turned from the provincial hostility of Connecticut to the larger freedom of Boston, where in June, 1828, he opened the Salem Street Infant School, which soon increased from seventeen to sixty. In the autumn he opened a school for boys, which for a time enjoyed success. His



contributions to the *Journal of Education* attracted favorable notice, and he was invited to open a school at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in association with William Russell, the editor of the *Journal*. Later this school was transferred to Philadelphia. In 1834 he returned to Boston and opened the Temple School, of which Miss Elizabeth Peabody, who acted as his assistant, wrote the *Record of a School*, the best account of Alcott's method. It was in consequence of his religious views embodied in *Conversations on the Gospels* that the Temple School was broken up. There was such indignation in the city that Alcott was hooted at in public and subjected to threats of physical violence. Preachers regarded him as an interloper, and teachers were hostile. Nevertheless, Alcott reopened his school in his own house, but when the parents of several pupils objected to the presence of a Negro child, he found himself with only five children, his own three daughters, the son of his friend Russell, and the Negro. To close this record of Alcott's formal teaching it is only necessary to add that he was elected superintendent of schools in Concord in 1859, at a salary of \$100, and after what Mr. Shepard calls "an almost embarrassingly conscientious performance of his duties," he was defeated by a political deal in 1865.

On June 22, 1839, Alcott wrote in his *Journal*: "I closed my school today. It is quite obvious that labours like mine cannot take root in this community, and more especially in this city, until parents and adults are better instructed in the principles and methods of human culture. . . .

I have a mission to parents, and must enter upon it. When their eyes shall be opened to the wants of the Soul, then shall I be permitted to minister to the needs of childhood." It was thus that Alcott turned to adult education—for the sake of the children.

The method he used was that of the conversation, an enlargement of the Socratic dialogue. He had begun to hold conversations on the Gospels in Boston while still conducting his school. In 1838 he wrote: "My theory of Conversation as the natural organ of communicating, mind with mind, appears more and more beautiful to me. It is the method of human culture. By it I come nearer the hearts of those whom I shall address than by any other means. . . . Conversation must be my organ of address to the public mind." It was for Alcott what the lyceum platform was for Emerson. From Boston he extended his circle to neighboring towns. An entry in 1839 is illuminating. "The Conversation at Lynn, this evening, was well attended. Very was there. We had a splendid talk on Instinct. It was seen that on all great occasions of life the Soul acted from instinct, and various instances from the corporeal, mental, and spiritual life, were enumerated, in illustration. We had deep insight into the Soul." From the vicinity of Boston Alcott extended his tours, at first with little popular success. Once he returned with a single dollar to show for his labors. But gradually he built up audiences for himself in cities as far west as

St. Louis, and could add several hundred dollars a year to the family budget. Indeed his wider associations made Concord seem narrow. In 1875 he wrote: "Home is home; yet I should enjoy a wider and more intimate association than opens for me in my immediate neighborhood and throughout New England. Life seems a little tame after the closer fellowships of the last months at the West." On his last tour of the West when he was eighty-one, he spoke in thirty-seven cities over a period of seven months, traveling some 5,000 miles and speaking sometimes three times a day, earning more than \$1,200.

It was at home, however, that he was to bring to fruition the last of his educational projects. The Concord School of Philosophy was opened in the summer of 1879, at which Alcott continued his conversations. These are summarized in the journal for that year and seem to show little change in subject matter or method from those given at Lynn forty years earlier. The Concord School was the last step in Alcott's progress toward higher education. This was a continuous and unified process which began with the district school at Cheshire; and its key is found in the words which he chose when in 1839 he found that he must transfer his teaching to adults: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not apprehend the doctrines and disciplines of the Kingdom of the Soul."

Odell Shepard, who edited *The Journals Of Bronson Alcott* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1938), is president of Local 556 of the American Federation of Teachers.

# The National Health Program<sup>1</sup>

◆ ROBERT F. WAGNER

**Y**EAR IN AND YEAR OUT, in good times and in bad, sickness takes a staggering toll. On the average day, 5,000,000 persons are disabled by illness. Sickness causes a total wage loss of more than a billion dollars a year. It is responsible for over a third of all dependency on public relief or private charity.

The United States has already made tremendous strides in the advancement of national health

and standards of medical care. But while we boast of the world's finest resources of medical knowledge, equipment, and personnel, we are still sadly deficient in bringing those resources within the reach of all who need them.

The day has long since passed when government's responsibility for the health of the population ceased with sanitation, quarantine, and asylums for the insane. Today, medical care is tax-supported to the tune of \$500,000,000 a year. This is one-sixth of the national health bill paid

<sup>1</sup>Excerpt from a talk given by Senator Robert F. Wagner on January 30, 1939, over the radio network of the National Broadcasting Company.



from all sources. Even as a cold business proposition, bearing in mind the extent of preventable losses and the public drain of dependency, little additional outlay would be needed in the long run to make available to all groups of the population a minimum of adequate medical care. We will be repaid many times over in renewed national vigor and human contentment.

What we require above all is to give impetus and direction to the sum total of our present expenditures and efforts—public and private—by framing a long-range national health program. Such a carefully considered program has now been put forward by a committee representing the departments of the Federal Government directly concerned in health problems and health needs.

This program presents the minimum essentials for bringing the blessings of modern medical science to every man, woman, and child in America. It was not framed in haste, but only after exhaustive studies and investigations. It is not intended to be made effective in haste, but only after careful building over a period of ten years.

The initial costs of the program have been kept within the limits of our immediate resources. I am exploring every possibility of providing temporary as well as permanent disability benefits without increasing the pay-roll taxes already authorized by the Social Security Act. The grants in aid to the states . . . will be made available on the basis of matching formulae which take into account the special health needs and financial resources of the several states. (It is important that a beginning, however modest, be made now.)

The question of compulsory health insurance arises only in connection with state plans of general medical care. The bill will not impose a federal straight-jacket upon the development of state plans. Subject to necessary basic standards, each state will be at liberty to set up a plan of its own choosing and geared to the needs of its own people.

Health insurance for medical care is entirely compatible with American concepts. Old-age insurance and unemployment insurance are familiar analogies. And in the history of our own country, there are ample precedents for health insurance itself. The very first step taken by the Federal Government in the field of health was to create in effect a compulsory health-insur-

ance system for seamen in the American merchant marine. Today the system is administered by the United States Public Health Service and



supported by general tax funds. A better and more widely known American precedent is workmen's compensation, the first type of social security adopted in this country for industrial workers at large. Insurance against industrial accidents operates to the advantage of industry and worker alike, and with the complete indorsement and approval of our medical profession. I see no reason why similar, systematic safeguards should not be established against a risk nine times as great.

The National Health Conference held in Washington last year disclosed overwhelming sentiment for an American health program. I am confident that with the advice and active cooperation of the medical profession, the states will work out plans of medical care suited to the requirements of our own people and safeguarding the best interests of all concerned. We can make a substantial start by enacting a *national health bill such as I propose*. That start we ought to make, for the benefit of the health, happiness, and economic security of our own and future generations.

# An Interview with Tom Mooney

♦ HAAKON M. CHEVALIER

In a recent statement by Tom Mooney he charged that there were newspapers in America which "deliberately plan to smear me, and thereby attempt to discredit the labor movement and its liberal allies which won my freedom; and thereby also attempt to smear our great liberal governor, Culbert L. Olson, who had the courage to do justice in my case . . ." Mooney also charged that his telephone wires were being tapped.

For many years the organized labor movement supported Tom Mooney in his fight for freedom, and his pardon is one of labor's greatest victories. The 1938

convention of the American Federation of Labor in Houston, Texas, after a resolution introduced by Mooney's union, reaffirmed its support of his cause.

In a recent letter to the Chicago Federation of Labor Mooney indicated that he intended to devote the rest of his life to working for Billings' pardon and helping the cause of organized labor. The editors of the AMERICAN TEACHER are glad to be able to present this exclusive interview which was secured by Professor Chevalier of the University of California, president of Local 349 of the A. F. of T.

**I**N 1916 THERE OCCURRED two events that were destined to be of importance in the labor movement. In San Francisco a bomb exploded in a Preparedness Day parade, and in Chicago the American Federation of Teachers was founded. During the intervening years thousands of American teachers have joined the ranks of labor, and many more thousands have rallied to the support of Tom Mooney, whose pardon by the newly elected democratic governor of California, Culbert L. Olson, is one of labor's most spectacular recent victories. It seemed appropriate for a representative of the A. F. of T. to interview Tom Mooney and ask him for a word of greeting to our members.

I found him late one night in his hotel room in San Francisco upon his return from a meeting of the Oakland Warehousemen's Union where he had been the guest of honor. His warm handshake and gentle, patriarchal manner immediately established a mood of cordial informality that simmered on pleasantly beyond the midnight hour. With him were several friends who joined in the conversation. He was so much a part of the general animation, so much at ease in this casually hospitable room with its impersonal and efficient comfort, with the restless noises and lights of the city beating upon the windows overlooking Market Street, that it was difficult to imagine his ever having been withdrawn from everyday life in which men come and go, and share experiences, and interweave their common destinies.

Unlike the others, who had attended him during the recent strenuous weeks, Mooney was fresh and buoyant, and quite disposed to talk. He has great respect for teachers and a sympa-

thetic understanding of their problems based on his experience in the labor movement, his amazingly wide and detailed knowledge of American history and present-day world affairs. He himself has had little schooling. He was forced to go to work at the age of fourteen, and his school attendance up to that time was extremely irregular. But he has the far-sighted trade-unionist's appreciation of the importance of education for the growth of the labor movement and the development of democracy. As for his own education, he has more than made up for his lack of formal schooling. He speaks with an ease, a command of language, and an authority based on knowledge, experience and character that many college professors would envy.

The message that Tom Mooney would like to convey to the teachers of America can be expressed in one word: "Organize!" He regards organization, however, not as the answer to all teachers' problems, but as the essential condition for their solution.

"Teachers," he said, "regard themselves as exceptional by virtue of their specialized profession. But they must learn that specialization does not exempt them from the effects of social and economic change. This is hard for them to realize. You've got to strike them between the eyes—show them what has happened to certain highly specialized jobs. . . ."

"Twenty-five, thirty years ago the molders used to say, 'The hell with the Polocks, Bohunks, Hunkies, and Dagos.' They were the aristocrats of labor, they had a strong union, and they got good wages. They looked down on the unskilled workers. But today there are only 7,000 employed members in the union. And look at the



glass-bottle-blowers. They were one of the strongest unions in the country. They used to earn twelve dollars a day when two or three dollars was considered a good wage. Technological improvement destroyed their jobs and their union. . . . Who could dream twenty-five years ago that the artist would ever be affected by the machine? Today the cinema and the radio have displaced thousands of actors and musicians. And the same thing is happening in the other professions—in journalism, for instance, with newspapers all over the country consolidating and throwing people out of work—and it's going to happen to teachers." He went on to discuss the increasing number of experimental educational courses that have recently been given over the radio, particularly in England, where successful study courses have been carried on for several years. "The time is not far distant," he said, lifting a prophetic finger, "when 100 teachers in New York City are going to teach the nation by television and radio."

But Mooney does not deplore this tendency of the machine to displace human labor. "The tendency," he said, "is a natural one. The weavers in England burned and smashed the first machines that were introduced and that threw them out of employment. But the answer to technological unemployment is not to destroy the machine but to use it and make it serve its function by lightening the burden of human labor, increasing leisure, and raising the standard of living for all."

Now and again the discussion would shift to other subjects. The President's name came up, and Mooney said: "I believe Roosevelt is the greatest president America has ever had. And I'm not forgetting Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln." Someone asked him how he explained Roosevelt's failure to realize a great part of his program. Mooney answered: "The President is surrounded by men who are hostile to everything he stands for. It is the duty of the labor movement to strengthen the President's hand, to give vigorous support to the progressive measures initiated by the New Deal."

Returning to the subject of teachers, Mooney paid a warm tribute to A. F. of T. President Jerome Davis. "He has been one of our staunchest supporters," he said. "He was the only president of a national union who appeared before the Congressional Committee on the Murray-O'Connell resolution. . ." Mooney said he

felt particularly grateful for the help he had received from the many teachers throughout the country who had worked for his liberation.

When I rose to take my leave he made a final exhortation.

"Arouse the social consciousness of teachers," he said. "Make them realize that they have no right to isolate themselves. They are a part of the whole social organism. They bear a heavy responsibility for the future and they must face it, not as isolated individuals but as a powerful organized group."

"To the teachers I would say: Don't think you are secure; don't imagine you will be unaffected by the changes that are occurring all around us and that are continually transforming every trade and profession. The only way you can control those new developments so as to safeguard your own economic security and exercise an influence in maintaining and improving the standards of your profession and the ideals of democratic education, the welfare of the young people who are in your charge, is by building a strong organization. Labor is the friend and natural ally of a free and progressive educational system, and will give teachers its powerful support."

"If the message of trade unionism as the embodiment of living democratic ideals could be brought home to teachers, they could be the greatest force in America today, because it is they who mold the minds of the young generation."

The story of Tom Mooney belongs to American history, and should be in the history books of every boy and girl in the United States. It is the story of a labor leader who, because he took democracy literally and believed in the right of labor to organize, was framed by California business interests and sentenced to death on perjured testimony; who spent twenty-two and a half years in prison and was finally freed when the rising tide of protest from workers was heard throughout the world and the outraged sense of justice of all mankind had made the name of Tom Mooney a battle cry. Both aspects of the story, the bright and the dark, belong to American life. But it is the fact that Mooney has won his long fight—that his story is a *success story*—that justifies our faith in the future. As American citizens we may take measured pride in the fact that Tom Mooney is today alive and free.

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# Correspondence

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New York City

## TO THE EDITOR:

**I**F BY PROGRESS IS MEANT acceptance not only in theory but in practice, then progressive education has made tremendous advances in recent years. The theory of education as involving human growth and development has made notable progress. I can testify from very recent visits all over the country that there are now hundreds, even thousands, of schools that operate on this theory. They are furnishing a wholesome, attractive, worthwhile education, as contrasted with the handful of such schools a decade ago.

Much remains to be done, however, even in this aspect of education development—that education is operating under the philosophy herein assumed. It is confined almost entirely to work with young children; it is conspicuously evidenced in the nursery school and in the better types of parent education, but it is almost wholly lacking in the education of youth. Even the thirty schools in the Progressive Education Association eight-year experiment, with all their praiseworthy advance in educational insight and procedure, have a long way to go before it can be said that they really conceive of education as growth and development.

Professor Watson undoubtedly concedes the kind of progress that I have just indicated. What he is concerned with, I take it—what we are all concerned with—is the influence of education in the whole present urgent problem of democracy. It is literally *now or never* with education in America.

No one can listen to Erica Mann and others who know the world situation without realizing that we may indeed be too late to make the changes that will have to be made if anything is to be done to save the day for the kind of decent human living we mean by democracy, not only in America but everywhere. We've got to build a different kind of attitude toward people—positive, not negative. Just keeping school, as many of us have been content to do, is almost useless. With every developmental agency we can summon—school, community, church, youth organization, press, radio, motion pictures—we must help people to be willing not merely to *tolerate*, but to understand, the attitude of others; to work with them in any and all things we can find to do in common.

First of all we must, as Felix Green has warned us, put our own house in order. Let us confess at once that we have our sore spots—very real ones. Let us do something about these. Our attitudes toward minorities in this country are indefensible. Let us build as quickly as we can, through education, by living and working with other people, the kind of understanding and appre-

ciation toward them that show our real belief in human beings everywhere. The attitudes of many of us toward labor, our ignorance of the simplest elements in labor history and other social conditions, are a little worse than other forms of illiteracy. They must be remedied as far as we can do it in the schools. The condemnation some people utter of any and all attempts to improve economic and social conditions must be made as unfashionable as intelligent information and concern for human welfare can make it. We still have the Dies Committee, for example. If it does constructive work toward making a better America, we as educational workers should help it. If it continues to misrepresent progressive attitudes and forward-looking leaders in American life, we shall have to help the people to see how mistaken it is and do all we can to set up something more valuable in its place.

Our own school education in the past has been regimented and undemocratic, from classroom to administration. It is getting better, some of us hope. We've got to help it get better fast.

Our pending proposals for federal aid for education should be supported and then made to work effectively for democracy. If the resources to be allotted under the new program are used by us as a nation merely to increase certain kinds of useless, already too numerous schools, to perpetuate existing wrong kinds of teacher education, and to expand educational research of the trivial, limited, statistical type so common today, then they will be worse than wasted. But if they are used to provide a really better program, to meet individual and social needs, not only of the present emergency, but for the future, they can be the means of transforming our teacher preparation.

We need all the help we can get from Goodwin Watson and others to make sure that we have this immediately urgent problem in mind. It must be remembered, however, that progressive education is not a device or a system, and that the Progressive Education Association is in no sense an organization with a single purpose. It is designedly made up of many diverse elements, with very little in common except the desire to push forward, to apply to education the best that is known and can be found out with regard to the maximum development of individuals for their own sake and for society.

Almost the only common element I have been able to find is a philosophy that puts human beings first. In spite of the immediate emergency, we are obliged to take a long-range view of education. We cannot, as an association, accept blindly the decisions of a particular group at a given moment, and I think recent evidence indicates the wisdom of this attitude. What we urgently need at all times, however, is the stimulation that comes from fundamental questioning on the part of men like Goodwin Watson.

CARSON A. RYAN, President  
Progressive Education Association



# Among the New Books

THE PROMISE OF TOMORROW, by WALTER E. MYER and CLAY COSS. Washington: Civic Education Service. 557 pages. \$2.50.

LIFE AND GROWTH, by ALICE V. KELIHER, with the COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS. New York: D. Appleton-Century. 245 pages. \$1.20.

EVERYONE REMEMBERS Alice's distressing discovery that there was jam yesterday, jam tomorrow, but no jam today. *The Promise of Tomorrow* seeks to offer reassurance and guidance to the thousands of American youth who are wondering about jam, or for that matter bread, today. The general organization is interesting. Conscious of the mistakes in offering educational and vocational advice in a social vacuum, the authors use about a hundred pages on both "The Social Scene" and "Individual Responsibility" before their major section on "Vocational Adjustment," in which they analyze the nature of various occupations, the training they require, the satisfactions and opportunities which they may or may not offer. People interested in helping youth face and deal with social realities will turn to it in hope of finding something which can be put into the hands of young people with some confidence that it will provide orientation and perspective.

The insistence on active and informed participation in society is refreshing and persuasively addressed; the emphasis on democratic values is all to the good even though the authors seem none too clear as to what those values are; but the faults and weaknesses are so numerous and exasperating that the total effect is of well-intentioned trash. Much of the description of the social scene is platitudinously inexact. There is no clarification of the various programs and policies of social action now offered to America. Indeed, the authors are so determined to maintain an air of impartiality (they clearly have liberal sympathies) that they make such mistakes as implying that labor unions are as likely as employers to pursue tactics "hurtful to the common good," that they "dictate wages," and "have raised wages unduly." The section on mental hygiene is scandalously superficial if not really harmful.

In the main section, on vocations, there is some useful if simplified information. But among other faults the crucial question of what occupations will be available in the future is glanced at or ignored. Teachers will be particularly sensible of this and other weaknesses in the section on teaching, where, for example, adult education and the tremendous importance of developments in secondary education are unmentioned.

Dr. Keliher and the Commission on Human Relations present, in *Life and Growth*, a very different

approach to those problems of guidance on which so much good and bad work is being done these days. "The book is based on a collection of hundreds of questions which young people asked. . . . They . . . showed that young men and women want, not only the information for which they ask, but also the social meanings of the facts." Thus the content emerged from a process very similar to that which the Educational Policies Committee of the A. F. of T. is advancing in its excellent effort to bring about an overhauling of the whole content of American education.

At the very heart of such an approach there must be a warm, full, critical acceptance of democracy and a deep confidence in people. *Life and Growth* is pervaded by such a spirit, revealing itself openly in what the author says about democracy but even more in the whole tone and approach. Dr. Keliher clearly believes that only the truth is good enough for young people (an idea platitudinous in statement but revolutionary in action) and that truth is not to be found in acceptance of conventional standards but in the integration of the most rigid scientific accuracy with the deepest possible understanding of human needs. Thus there is an essential validity in the title of her last section, "New Life and Social Change."

The earlier chapters on intelligence, normality, custom, social action, needs and frustrations, lead to the long middle section of the book on heredity, body build, the influences of glands, sex. It is this part which makes the book invaluable to every teacher. No doubt there are regions in our country where it could not be given to students; but even in those, there is some reasonable chance that teachers who have read and understood *Life and Growth* will be able to open to students its



profound insights. Here *Life and Growth* is far better than any other work on its subject; the reviewer's temptation is to set off the pyrotechnical superlatives which the book makes unnecessary. Excellent if oversimplified diagrams on male and female sexual physiology—the menstrual cycle, fertilization, the stages of pregnancy—support and clarify the text in its union of inflexible honesty with flexible human beings.

To make niggling objections to this book is to expose, no doubt, either a failure of the reviewer's values or a thorough confidence in *Life and Growth*. Perhaps it has too much kindness to some of our hypocritical attitudes about sexual activity. Perhaps the pressures on young men not to be virgins go uninterpreted. At the end of Chapter V Dr. Keliher may give the impression that heredity and environment are equal forces. If this is true, nevertheless we have available to us much knowledge to change the environment and many opportunities, while we are still very limited, if not blocked, in influencing heredity for good. Such points should be raised exactly because the excellence of *Life and Growth* makes it possible to raise them with an understanding not available before. Here is new access to truth.

Francis W. Parker School. JAMES P. MITCHELL.

★ ★ ★

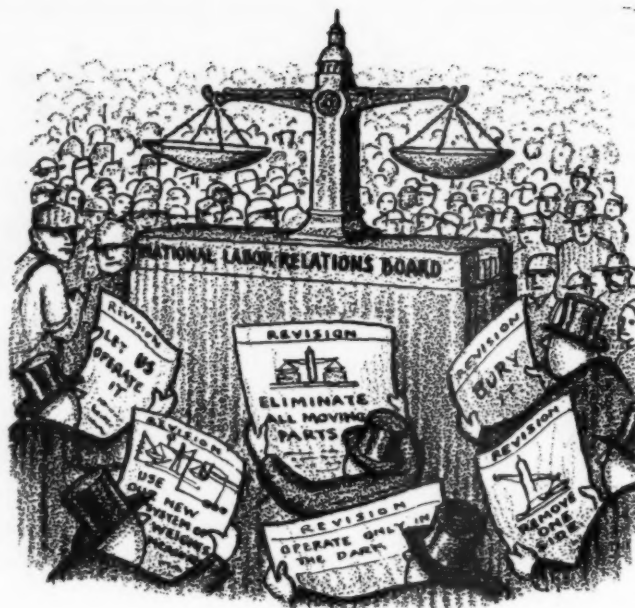
UNIONS OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING, by ROBERT R. R. BROOKS. New Haven: Yale University Press. 296 pages. \$3.00.

AMERICAN LABOR, by HERBERT HARRIS. New Haven: Yale University Press. 459 pages. \$3.75.

IF YALE UNIVERSITY has not established an enviable reputation for equitable dealings with its staff, its satellite, the Yale University Press, seems determined to dissociate the word, Yale, from being symbolic of reaction. These two volumes are a welcome addition to liberal scholarship.

One is not disappointed in Robert Brooks's *Unions of Their Own Choosing*. It is a timely sequel to his *When Labor Organizes* (Yale University Press, 1937). There exists no other source book which presents as accurately or as forcefully the battle centering about the National Labor Relations Board. The work might well be "required reading" for members of Congress as well as for students of labor problems. The executives of the American Federation of Labor would also be well advised to give it more than a passing glance before they seek to marshal their legions in an attack upon some of the basic principles of the Wagner Act.

There is really very little that Brooks says that is not a commonplace among specialists in the field, yet one here sees in perspective the almost unequalled barrage of lies and misrepresentation laid down by the opponents of the Act since it surmounted the constitutional barrier in the spring of 1937. What the National Association of Manufacturers really desires is the abolition of the Labor Board and all of its works. Realizing the impossibility of accomplishing this by a frontal



assault upon the now accepted principle of collective bargaining through unions genuinely of the workers' own choosing, they now seek to emasculate the law by making it unworkable. In this ambition, the hierarchy of the A. F. of L. has been of signal service and has employed tactics of distortion of the Board objectives which would do credit even to Senator Burke of Nebraska. Brooks mercilessly punctures the many fictions which are current concerning the Labor Board, although he couches his arguments with an atmosphere of gentility which befits a Williams professor. He demonstrates that the Board is not a breeder of strikes; that it does not employ arbitrary tactics; that it does not compel collective bargaining, although it lays the basis for assisting it; and that it has not developed a C. I. O. bias. Indeed, he points out that the A. F. of L., in its march toward reaction, has even turned its back upon the "San Francisco Declaration of 1934" which, designed as a working compromise between industrial and craft forces, accepted the principle of industrial unionism in mass production industries where craft lines were not clearly delineated. The Federation is now seeking amendments to compel the Board to base union representation upon craft groupings. Brooks contends that the Board has if anything too greatly favored the A. F. of L. Where a showing of membership could be made, it has gone so far as to allow certain minority crafts to determine whether or not they would bargain separately through their own craft union or be included in an industrial union. Many leaders of A. F. of L. affiliates have, however, not been satisfied, since they have in recent years discovered that employers, choosing what they seem the lesser of two evils, tend to telegraph for A. F. of L. "organizing assistance" when beset by the C. I. O. The union executives who conclude contracts of this character are anxious that the dues-paying members so recruited shall not be allowed



to enter unions of their own free choice through Labor Board intervention.

Brooks's book deserves wide attention as a straightforward statement of the structure of the Board, the manner in which it has handled its many difficult problems, and its function in laying the groundwork for an expanding industrial democracy. It is on this note that the work closes: "In the contemporary conflict between democracy and dictatorship, whether political or industrial, the National Labor Relations Board is in the center of the struggle. Its influence and power are wholly on the side of democracy."

Herbert Harris has written a vivid but rather disjointed work. The first 100 pages deal with general labor history and bring the story up to the downfall of the Knights of Labor in the late 'eighties. At this point, he branches out into sketches of seven groups of unions; the miners, the carpenters, the newspaper guildsmen, the ladies' garment workers, the railway organizations, the auto workers, and the textile workers.

These sketches are of real value in throwing emphasis upon the divergent background and development of different branches of the American labor movement. They give one a better appreciation of the reasons for internal struggles in the movement. Yet neither in these chapters nor in the long concluding chapter does Harris succeed in presenting an adequate total picture of the American labor development. One could, however, recommend the work as a colorful supplement to a standard labor-problems text. It is a work which is provocative and often most discerning. It is never lacking in militancy. Its value is, however, lessened by the presence of a number of obvious errors which raise doubts as to the unquestioned reliability of all of the most interesting intimate tidbits of information concerning labor leaders. Space permits but a few samples. On page 374, for example, the A. F. of L. is credited with a 1920 treasury balance of well over a billion dollars. On page 206 it is suggested that the brewery union was the only industrial organization in the A. F. of L. at the turn of the century. On page 203 the I. W. W. is placed as an organization of the 1890's.

One is considerably surprised that the author, after so many pages of sharp condemnation of many A. F. of L. leaders, finds that the road to industrial peace between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. is comparatively simple. He says: "Outside of the clash of personal ambitions and rivalries and the desire to retain old or to achieve new prerogatives of power and place, there are no genuine obstacles to harmony that could not be overcome if the will to peace itself prevailed. It is silly to think that leaders of both sides . . . could not—by pooling their experience and their knowledge—devise formulae that would lay the ghost of jurisdictional disputes. The principle of industrial unionism, moreover, has been vindicated. . . . It is also daily more evident that the common interests of A. F. of L. and

C. I. O. members transcend the differences between craft or industrial forms of occupation or organization." One hopes that he is right.

Amherst College.

COLSTON WARNE.

★ ★ ★

THE SCHOOL FOR DICTATORS, by IGNAZIO SILONE.  
New York: Harper. 336 pages. \$2.50.

IN A NATION JITTERY over a vague undefined fascist menace, books which treat with the theme of *The School For Dictators* are welcome. Ignazio Silone has written of the quintessence of fascist conquests of power. The attention of Americans must be directed to analysis of fascism and to indigenous outcroppings in this nation. If the menace is regarded as external and foreign, the sanctimonious imperialists who defend the *status quo* may successfully channel the current hysteria toward American participation in a new European gang war, with fascism masquerading as Americanism a probable consequence.

In a series of dialogues, Mr. W., the would-be dictator of America, and his aide, Professor Pickup, founder of Neo-Sociology, are instructed in the origins and methods of fascism by Thomas the Cynic, a refugee in Switzerland. At one point Thomas concludes, "Thus the working-class parties had shown themselves incapable of achieving power, and the old democratic leaders were no longer capable of holding it. Since nature abhors a vacuum, society was forced to create a substitute—Fascism." Silone points up the democratic dilemma. "The democrats of the present day no longer have an ideal to realize. They are traditionalists, conservatives." Yet those democrats who "propose an extension of the democratic principle to spheres of social life from which it has hitherto been excluded, by means of control over a part of private economy," are fought bitterly by privilege.

If the modern reader can endure the dialogue curriculum, with wooden, static characters as teachers, with history a prolix subject, he will unearth some mature reflections in persistent study at the satirical *School for Dictators*.

Ohio State University

WILLIAM VAN TIL, JR.

★ ★ ★

ONE FIFTH OF MANKIND, by ANNA LOUISE STRONG.  
New York: Modern Age. 215 pages. \$0.50.

THE PATRIOT, by PEARL S. BUCK. New York: John Day. 372 pages. \$2.50.

ONE FIFTH OF MANKIND has for its purpose the explanation of present-day events in China so that they are understandable to the lay student who has no detailed background of Far Eastern knowledge. Anna Louise Strong's account is stimulating and interesting, as first-hand accounts usually are. However, there are times when Miss Strong oversimplifies her parallels with American history, and times when she neglects to emphasize the China which is neither nationalistic nor revolutionary. It is not only necessary to give the elements of strength in a situation, but the elements of weakness as well. For those who wish a sympathetic interpretation of contemporary China, Miss Strong's book is both practical and interesting.

Pearl Buck's books are simple and direct. They create the impression she desires. I-wan, the hero of *The Patriot*, is the son of a Shanghai banker of great wealth. His human sympathies lead him into participation in the activities of a group of young revolutionaries. When thousands of other revolutionists are arrested and executed, he is saved by Chiang and sent to Japan by his father. In Japan, he secures employment in the business of his father's friend. During the period of his employment, he sees one of his employer's sons commit suicide to avoid conscription and another brutalized by war. I-wan falls in love with the daughter of his employer and later marries her. The marriage brings out the startling contrasts in cultures. As the war progresses, I-wan's loyalty to China calls him home. He serves in the communists' army, but remains a humanitarian. To him, the ends of life are in personality, not revolution.

KERNIT EBY

**PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION**, by ERNEST VICTOR HOLLIS. *New York: Columbia University Press.* 365 pages. \$3.50.  
**MONEY TO BURN**, by HORACE COON. *New York: Longmans, Green.* 352 pages. \$3.00.

THESE TWO BOOKS are careful, clear expositions of the history, organization, activities, and social significance of philanthropic foundations in America.

In both books we see a picture unbiased by the glare of anti-social motive, such as radiates from the intricacies of the Duke Foundation with its tangle of utility interests and tax evasions, or the optimism of observers heartened by the courage of such trustees as President Pritchett of Carnegie Foundation.

Dr. Hollis' book represents the more scholarly approach of the two. However, we need only to quote from the last page of Mr. Coon's book to see how valuable his analysis is to all educators or socially minded realists today. Both books have the power of incorporating the study of the institution in its social matrix, as the following quotation from Coon shows:

"A scientific library is endowed with securities in an oil company, an educational institution is endowed with securities in a steel corporation, a hospital is endowed with securities in a public utility. That is splendid. But if the government tries to break the corporate control of the United States held by the oil, steel, public utility interests, then the cry goes up that the government is wrecking our endowments. By these means privilege is entrenched, by these means corporate philanthropy plays its part in protecting the interests of corporate wealth."  
*Austin High School* R. C. MC VEY

## Pamphlets Received

### Labor and Education

**AFFILIATED SCHOOLS SCRAPBOOK**: Workers' Education Through Action, published monthly. *New York: Affiliated Schools for Workers.* 43 pages. \$0.25.

**ANNOTATED LIST OF LABOR PLAYS**, by JEAN CARTER. *New York: Labor Education Service, Affiliated Schools for Workers.* 36 pages. \$0.15.

**LABOR AND EDUCATION**: A Radio Presentation of the American Federation of Labor, The Workers Education Bureau of America and its services over Station WEVD, New York, and Station WOL, Washington, on November 29, 1938. *New York: Workers Education Bureau of America.* 34 pages.

**THE NEGRO WOMAN WORKER**, by JEAN COLLIER BROWN. Bulletin No. 165. *Washington: Women's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor.* 17 pages \$0.10.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**. *Washington: Congress of Industrial Organizations.* 302 pages.

### Federal Aid to Education

**THE EXTENT OF EQUALIZATION SECURED THROUGH STATE SCHOOL FUNDS**, by NEWTON EDWARDS and HERMAN G. RICHEY. Staff Study No. 6. *Washington: Advisory Committee on Education.* 55 pages. \$0.15.

**PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF DISTRIBUTING FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION**, by PAUL R. MORT, EUGENE S. LAWLER, and Associates. Staff Study No. 5. *Washington: Advisory Committee on Education.* 99 pages. \$0.20.

**RACIAL INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION**. *New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.* 24 pages. \$0.10.

### Educational Policies Committee

**ADULT-STUDY GUIDE**: A Pamphlet Research Service for the Adult Reader, published eight times a year, October to May. *New York: Service Bureau for Adult Education, Division of General Education, New York University.* 4 pages. \$0.15. Annual subscription \$1.00.

**COMMUNITY PLANNING IN ADULT EDUCATION**: A Practical Handbook for the Administrator of Classes for Adults, prepared by the Staff of the Department of Adult Education, School of Education, New York University. *New York: Service Bureau for Adult Education, Division of General Education, New York University.* 66 pages. \$0.50.

**\*KNOW YOUR SCHOOL**: Know Your Superintendent, by W. S. DEFFENBAUGH. Leaflet No. 48. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Dept. of the Interior.* 9 pages. \$0.05.

**\*KNOW YOUR SCHOOL**: Know Your Teacher, by W. S. DEFFENBAUGH. Leaflet No. 50. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Dept. of the Interior.* 12 pages. \$0.05.

### W.P.A. and Education

**\*EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION**, by DOAK S. CAMPBELL, FREDERICK H. BAIR, and OSWALD L. HARVEY. Staff Study No. 14. *Washington: Advisory Committee on Education.* 185 pages. \$0.25.

**\*INVENTORY**: An Appraisal of Results of the Works Progress Administration. *Washington: Works Progress Administration.* 100 pages. \$0.30.

### Miscellaneous

**\*AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS**. Monograph No. 19. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Dept. of the Interior.* 21 pages. \$0.10.

**CONGRESS AT WORK**. Pittsburgh: Scholastic Bookshop. 31 pages. \$0.25 per copy; class supply of 20 or more, \$0.15 each.

**LOOKING AHEAD WITH TENNESSEE SCHOOLS**: Procedures for Developing Curriculum Materials. Bulletin No. 2. *Nashville: State Dept of Education.* 268 pages.

**THE NEW NATIONAL OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION AND GUIDANCE SERVICE**, by JOHN W. STUDEBAKER, reprinted from *Occupations, the Vocational Guidance Magazine*, for November, 1938. *New York: National Occupational Conference.* 5 pages.

**\*SALARY AND EDUCATION OF RURAL SCHOOL PERSONNEL**: Status and Trends, by W. H. GAUMNITZ. Pamphlet No. 85. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Dept. of the Interior.* 19 pages. \$0.05.

**WATCH YOUR P. Q.**: An Anthology of Helpful Information, Biographical Sketches, and Tests for Modern Young People on Ways of Improving Their Personalities. Pittsburgh: Scholastic Bookshop. 32 pages. \$0.25 per copy; class supply of 20 or more, \$0.15 each.

**\*WHAT THE HOUSING ACT CAN DO FOR YOUR CITY**. *Washington: U. S. Housing Authority, Dept of the Interior.* 88 pages. \$0.20.

## Books Received

**INVISIBLE STRIPES**, by WARDEN LEWIS E. LAWES. *New York: Farrar & Rinehart.* 315 pages. \$2.50.

**JAPANESE TERROR IN CHINA**, by H. J. TIMPERLEY. *New York: Modern Age.* 220 pages. \$0.75.

**JOHNNY GET YOUR MONEY'S WORTH (AND JANE TOO)**, by RUTH BRINDZE. *New York: Vanguard.* 230 pages. \$2.00.

**THE MAN WHO KILLED LINCOLN**: The Story of John Wilkes Booth and His Part in the Assassination, by PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN. *New York: Random.* 376 pages. \$3.00.

**SKIING IN THE EAST**: Ski Trails and How to Get There, compiled and written by members of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in New York City. *New York: M. Barrows.* 334 pages. \$1.50.

**THIRD DIGEST OF INVESTIGATIONS IN THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE**, by FRANCIS D. CURTIS. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston. 419 pages.

**THROUGH BY RAIL**, by CHARLES GILBERT HALL. *New York: Macmillan.* 152 pages. \$1.50.

**YOUR COMMUNITY**: Its Provision for Health, Education, Safety, Welfare, by JOANNA C. COLCORD. *New York: Russell Sage Foundation.* 249 pages. \$0.85.

\*This publication is for sale by the Supt. of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.



# On the Labor Front

Edited from the Labor Press and the Federated Press

**LIBERTY MAGAZINE, A MACFAD-**den publication, paid \$500 to avoid a libel suit brought by Lucien Koch, New England organizational director for the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, C.I.O. The magazine, which in an article two years ago referred to Koch as a "Red," also retracted the statement and assured Koch it would never republish the article.

★  
**WHILE A. F. OF L. AND C.I.O. CHIEFS** negotiated for an end to the split in labor's ranks, members of the two branches of organized labor established a joint picket line in Corpus Christi, Texas, around the one-and-one-half-mile bayfront project, which has been declared "unfair" by the Building Trades Council, A. F. of L.

Although the \$950,000 improvement is being financed by the city, the picketing was directed against the private contractor, who, the council charges, has failed to live up to the terms of the contract, which provides that preference be given to local labor.

Last November a joint council of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. locals was established in the community but was disbanded this year.

Meanwhile to speed up unity between all branches of labor, *Federated Press* reported a move in the A. F. of L. to seek submission of the question to the rank and file. It was reported that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was one of the leaders in the move.

★  
**BECAUSE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY** has refused to sign a union contract, James J. Bambrick, president of Local 329, of the Building Service Employees International Union, A. F. of L., has asked the State Labor Relations Board to intercede.

The Board cannot act directly because it has no authority over educational and non-profit institutions.

Columbia's 340 building service workers voted to strike if the university refused to sign a contract. Demands include minimum wages of \$25.00 for a 44-hour week and abolition of the existing company union.

The union signed a contract covering New York University's building service workers last May.

★  
**HERSHEY, PA., SCENE OF A SHARP** conflict between A. F. of L. and C. I. O. workers and of an assault by club-swinging vigilantes, has apparently settled down for a period of peace following an A. F. of L. victory in an election conducted by the N. L. R. B.

Tabulation of ballots east March 10 by employees of the Hershey Chocolate Com-

pany showed 1,123 votes for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate; 733 for the United Chocolate Workers, C. I. O., and 157 for no union. Out of 2,300 workers, 2,013 participated in the election.

The rival unions held rallies three days before the election. Senator James J. Davis, Republican, addressed the A. F. of L. meeting at the Hershey High School. The rally was jointly sponsored by the Young Republican Club, the Lebanon Valley Citizens Committee, and the union.

★  
**LABOR'S SHARE IN THE SOAP INDUSTRY** is only 6 per cent of the wholesale value of soap, as compared with 17



per cent average labor costs for all manufacturing industries.

So found the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in a survey in 1935, republished recently in connection with an analysis of soaps by the Consumers Union. The low percentage of wages, the study found, was partly explained by the large proportion of company unions and the low degree of genuine organization in the soap industry.

Of the soap manufacturers operating under union conditions, Consumers Union lists the Los Angeles Soap Company, makers of White King toilet soap and Cosray skin soap, which operates under an A. F. of L. agreement. The Manhattan Company, makers of Sweetheart soap, has an agreement with the United Soap and Glycerine Workers Union, C.I.O.

Only part of the plants of Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Company, and of Lever Brothers Company, are covered by C.I.O. and A. F. of L. contracts, respectively. Procter and Gamble Manufacturing Company has long been known for its company unions, although an A. F. of L. contract is reported at one of its plants in Portsmouth, Va.

Manufacturers, some of whom have company unions and do not operate under union contracts include Haskins Brothers, J. Eavenson and Sons, Kirkman and Son, and Andrew Jergens Company.

**OPPOSITION TO ANY REVISION OF** the Wagner Act continues to pile up while proponents of the anti-labor legislation are preparing to bring the measure out on the floor of Congress.

A survey by the *Guild Reporter* showed that 13 A. F. of L. international unions have gone on record indorsing the present Act, as well as many state and city bodies, and more than 300 A. F. of L. local unions. Also among those protesting the proposed amendments are three international presidents of A. F. of L. unions, including A. L. Wharton, Machinists; Daniel J. Tobin, Teamsters; and George Harrison, Railway Clerks.

Other support for the Wagner Act and the present set-up of the National Labor Relations Board came from the National Lawyers Guild and from the Methodist Federation for Social Service, headed by Bishop Francis J. McConnell and Dr. Harry F. Ward of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Commenting on the Wagner Act, the Methodist Federation's monthly bulletin says, "The Wagner Act is a milestone in the progress of American democracy. It marks the establishment of democratic control over industrial relations. If that control is impaired by crippling amendments the development of economic democracy is halted.

"The criticism of the Act has come mainly from the same open-shop forces that fought the law's enactment and tried desperately to block appropriations for its enforcement.

"The Walsh bill proposes amendments to the Act that would enable it to serve the interests of business rather than of labor, of suppression of labor unions rather than of their development."

★  
**INFINITESIMAL SIGNS OF DEMOC-**racy have been gingerly popping up in Nazi Germany. And it is in the sphere of "organized labor" that the shreds of liberty are emerging.

A half century before Der Fuehrer, the labor movement of Germany was considered the strongest in the world, next to Sweden. With facism, labor unions were liquidated, and all semblances of collective bargaining disappeared. In their place, Hitler presented the German workers with the Labor Front, which every employee in the country was forced to join. As a fake substitute for the traditional factory committee of the unions, the Nazis set up a system of "confidential spokesmen" or "Trusted Men" to represent the workers. These stooges—usually two or three in a plant—are chosen by the Nazi district leaders and the employers, with the expectation that the workers will automatically indorse the candidates. Under the Nazi labor code,

if employees of a factory do not approve the slate, new nominations are made.

What has been happening is that German labor, quietly organizing under severe hazards in the face of six years of repression, has learned to reject the Nazi Trusted Men again and again until names of men either sympathetic or pliable to labor's program are submitted. In this



way, German labor is achieving a voice—however faint—in industrial relations. But organized labor is still far from legal or even respectable in the Third Reich. There are no strikes as such. There is still no such phenomenon as a labor "movement." But by picking Trusted Men who can be trusted, German labor is edging along.

In hundreds of isolated incidents, labor in Germany is awakening and expressing its discontent. For example, when men in a plant are summoned to listen to a long speech by a Nazi functionary, they're not paid for time lost; recently, in a number of factories men have dared to demand pay for listening. They're also holding out for time spent in cleaning machinery, at present deducted from their pay envelopes. Sabotage is prevalent throughout the country, and in several sections a concerted slow-down drive has been inaugurated in protest against the speedup and slashing of wages. More and more "accidents" are happening to brutal foremen, and considerable expensive machinery has been wrecked.

Recently in one of the world's biggest armament plants—Siemens, in Silesia—so many wage cuts for taxes, winter relief, and other Nazi funds had been inflicted on the workers that the men decided to organize a drive for higher wages. It took months of work; leaflets were secretly printed and distributed, word passed from mouth to mouth; and even the underground movement's radio station, "Twenty-nine Eight," had two special broadcasts on the fight. One after another, the plant's Trusted Men were won over. The pressure became so strong that the board of directors was forced to raise the wages of skilled workers from twenty-nine cents to thirty-three cents an hour, and similar wage increases were granted to other classes of employees. In totalitarian Germany a wage boost is on a par with a miracle.



#### DELEGATES FROM 27 CITIES EX-

pressed their opposition to Governor W. Lee O'Daniel's transactions tax plan at the convention of the Texas Allied Printing Trades Council in Austin, Tex.

Growing unity between the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. in Texas was indicated in an announcement by P. F. Kennedy, executive secretary of the Texas State Industrial Union Council, that the two rival groups would share a radio program opposing the tax.



#### DEWEY JONES, MARAUDING CAP-

tain of Tom Girdler's private army, is heading for trouble with the Department of Justice because of his assault on witnesses who testified against him before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee.

Jones, according to affidavits in the last published report of the La Follette Committee, invaded a garage in Elwood, Ind., and beat up two individuals because they had presented evidence to the Committee charging that a gun and spy report had been found in Jones's car. Jones is captain of the Republic Steel Company police at Cleveland, Ohio.



#### WARNER BROTHERS HAS DISTRIB-

uted with each paycheck a copy of a Nazi pamphlet entitled *Rassenschaendung* (Defilement of Race), by Dietrich Hutten.

The cover states in part: "This is a translation . . . of a German work so widely distributed . . . as to be almost a textbook . . . of Nazism . . . Here . . . is the whole sordid and almost incredible proof of the danger that threatens not only the decencies but the very existence of civilization. Subtitles of the volume are: 'The mission of German nationality in the world is to free the world of Jews and Christians,' and 'Germanic blood and Christian baptismal water can never mix.'"

More than 3,000 copies of the pamphlet have been distributed, with no word of propaganda or instruction attached. Warner Brothers has taken a definite lead in the production of anti-fascist, pro-democratic films.



#### BETWEEN 550 AND 600 VOTING DEL-

egates, representing 200,000 average paid-up members of the United Automobile Workers, C. I. O., are expected to be seated at the special convention opening in Cleveland, March 27, according to President R. J. Thomas.

Clearing the desks for the meeting, the executive board, meeting in Cleveland, permanently expelled Homer Martin, former president, following his trial on 15 counts of disruption and company unionism.

Thomas, named to succeed Martin until the election of a new head at the convention and formerly his closest associate, testified under oath at the trial of the deposed president that Charles Coughlin had in Thomas' presence advised Martin to pull out of the C. I. O., and that he, Coughlin, could arrange for a deal between Martin and the Ford Motor Company. He also said that Coughlin declared that democracy was not working out in America and that a corporate (fascist) state might be a good substitute.

In Royal Oaks, Michigan, the radio priest denied charges that he had con-

spired with Martin in an attempt to sever the U. A. W. from the C. I. O. He said that he had offered to arrange a meeting between Martin and Harry Bennet, head of Ford's huge army of company police.

Officials of the U. A. W. also reported the failure of Martin's abortive convention of auto workers at Detroit last month when he attempted to form a rival union. According to official union records, delegates at Martin's meeting represented less than 18,000 U. A. W. members.

In New York, David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, denied that he had supplied financial aid to Homer Martin.



#### HITTING AT THE HEART OF WASH-

ington's second most important industry, the spring tourist season, the strike of 2,200 hotel workers in the nation's capital grew as teamsters, building trades, and building service workers joined the list of those refusing to cross picket lines.

New Dealers who made their homes at the struck hotels moved or stayed with friends rather than go through the picket line, while Senator James Hamilton Lewis of Illinois and Senator Carter Glass of Virginia ostentatiously posed for news cameras while crossing the lines.

C.I.O. Director John Brophy walked across the street from the C.I.O. offices to join the line maintained in front of the Mayflower Hotel by the workers, members of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance, A. F. of L.

The White House Correspondents Association, composed of newspapermen accredited to the White House, cancelled plans for its regular annual dinner to the President, feeling that neither the President, cabinet officers, nor prominent persons invited to the dinner should cross the picket lines.



As the nation's capital watched with interest the largest strike in its history, police maintained a strict hands-off policy. It was even reported that police arrested four persons who were molesting the picket lines. There were no general attempts to shove pickets around or limit the numbers.



#### BRIEN McMAHON, ASSISTANT AT-

torney general of the United States, has urged Governor A. B. Chandler of Kentucky to pardon the four Harlan union miners now serving life terms for alleged participation in the Battle of Evarts, May 5, 1931, the Kentucky Miners Defense has announced.



McMahon, who prosecuted the Harlan conspiracy cases last summer, took this almost unprecedented action in the form of a letter to Chandler in which he admitted that his recommendation was "somewhat unusual."

During the Harlan trial last summer, McMahon wrote, he examined the records of the Evarts miners' trial.

"I then became aware that many of the personalities who testified against the men who were convicted were defendants in our case whose reputation for lawlessness and violence in the community was well known," he said. "Frankly, I would not believe many of them under oath."

"It is my considered judgment and opinion that the deputy sheriffs themselves provoked the Battle of Evarts and that they were responsible for the troubles which occurred."

The Kentucky Miners Defense also announced that the Kentucky State Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.) has urged "immediate clemency" for the four framed miners.

★

**THE DETROIT MAILERS UNION OF** the International Typographical Union, A. F. of L., recently signed a contract providing wage increases with the Safran Printing Company of Detroit after the United Auto Workers, C.I.O., had exercised gentle pressure. The U.A.W. paper is printed in the Safran plant.

The mailers local originally turned down the A. F. of L. proposal to double the per capita tax to build up an organizational fund against the C.I.O.

★

**THE CANDID CAMERA PHOTO SERVICE** Company, which employs 60 photographers at the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco, has signed a closed-shop agreement with the Photographers and Allied Crafts Union, A. F. of L., providing a 44-hour week, pay raises, and time-and-a-half for overtime.

★

**THE U. S. GOVERNMENT SUCCESS-** fully ended its first criminal prosecution under the wage-hour law when the Brown Stitching Company of Lawrence, Massachusetts, and its treasurer-manager, Nathan Brown, were fined a total of \$1,500. It was estimated that the company had saved between \$700 and \$1,000 through violations.

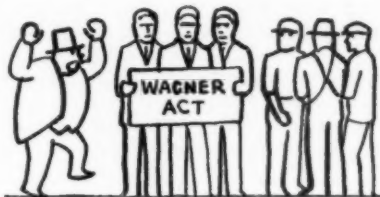
The company unexpectedly pleaded guilty to four indictments charging failure to pay the minimum wage, falsification of records, failure to keep required records, and interstate sale of goods made under sub-standard conditions. The concern does stitching work for shoe manufacturers.

During the trial Assistant Attorney General Joseph E. Brill showed that one woman had received as little as \$2.38 a week and another \$2.64. It was also brought out that the company's 300 employees had to punch time cards for fewer hours than they had worked.

## THE REGIONAL N. L. R. B. OFFICE

has nullified an election held in January among employees of the Firth Carpet Company, Firthcliffe, N. Y., which the Textile Workers Organizing Committee (C. I. O.) lost by a vote of 421 to 379. The Board upheld union charges that the company had used intimidation and coercion to influence the vote.

Prior to the election, the company had agreed to withdraw recognition of a dummy organization known as the Firth Workers Protective Association. At Christmas time, however, the company



began to hold parties on company property. Foremen and former officials of the company union quit work on election day and drove employees to the polls.

★

**SETTLEMENT OF THE SIX-MONTH-** old strike of the American Newspaper Guild, C.I.O., against the three daily papers of Wilkes Barre, Pa., has been reached, following three-way parleys in New York which included publishers, A.N.G. representatives, and President John L. Lewis of the C.I.O.

The pact calls for immediate reinstatement of all strikers and recognition of the Guild as bargaining agent for employees in the circulation, editorial, business, and advertising departments. The papers which were forced to stop publication immediately after the strike will resume publication at once.

Meanwhile, the Guild strike in Chicago on Hearst's *Herald and Examiner* and *Evening American* entered its fifth month as advertising and circulation continued to drop heavily on the two papers.

*Media Records*, which prepares official statistics on advertising lineage, showed a loss of nearly 2,000,000 lines on the two papers, representing nearly \$1,000,000 in revenue. Circulation on the two papers was down 250,000, strike leaders announced.

In Chicago a committee of 25 members representing leading clergymen and laymen of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish churches of the city found the Hearst management "guilty" of unfair labor practices.

In Boston the Guild signed an industrial union contract providing a \$75,000 yearly wage increase for employees on the *Herald and Traveler*. The contract grants the highest minimum wage scale in the New England area and is the first agreement to cover both editorial and commercial departments on the paper.

★

**DEMANDING A FIFTY-CENT DAILY-** wage increase and a 30-hour week, the United Mine Workers of America,

C. I. O., began negotiations early in March with Appalachian coal operators.

Early in the conference the union's demands were met with a hint by spokesmen for the operators that a fifty-cent wage cut would be in order. President John L. Lewis also attacked an alleged \$6,000,000 health swindle of the coal operators. A survey by the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine revealed outrageous medical and hospital care by company doctors, paid for by the men under the checkoff system.

Chief demands of the union are a six-day, 30-hour week, a fifty-cent increase per day over the present \$6.00 basic scale, a fifteen-cent per ton increase on the cutting and loading rate, and a guarantee of 200 days' work a year. Other demands call for the strengthening of the recognition clause, extra compensation for higher productivity resulting from mechanization, time-and-a-half for overtime, vacations with pay, seniority rights, a voice for the miners in the supervision of hospital and medical services, and stronger safety provisions.

Vice-President Philip Murray revealed that the miner is in the lowest income group although he works the hardest, under dangerous conditions. The bituminous industry for ten years, he pointed out, has paid its workers an average of \$400 less than the competing fuel industries and some fifteen or sixteen other basic industries.

An audible stir ran through the conference room filled with 400 miners and operators when, during the roll call, a voice answered "present" as the name of the Harlan County Coal Miners Association was called. It marked the first time that the operators from "Bloody Harlan"—now organized—have participated in the conferences.

★

## OREGON'S RAMPANT ANTI-LABOR

legislature has moved to repeal the direct primary law, first founded in the state, and return to the boss-controlled convention system. Another move would deny opportunity in the state for Catholic and Jewish refugees from fascism by closing major professions to aliens.

Most ominous of the new proposals is a set of amendments to the statutes regulating the professions by excluding aliens from practice. The first to pass was Senate Bill 291, barring aliens from practice of law. Then, against the earnest pleas of the Oregon Commonwealth Federation leaders, appeared an amendment to the optometry law adding a citizenship-requirement clause. A similar clause was added to the dentistry code.

Aroused progressive sentiment, supported by Catholic and Jewish forces of the state, is rallying for a showdown battle in the house, before which all three exclusion acts are now ready for action.

State A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders have registered vigorous protests against proposed amendments to the Unemployment Compensation Act which would emasculate the law and severely restrict benefits to the unemployed. The proposed changes would lengthen the waiting pe-

ried before benefits start, reduce the total amount of the benefits, bar locked-out workers from receiving benefits, and complicate the process of registration.

★

#### INDEPENDENT MILK DISTRIBUTORS

and unionized dairy farmers are fighting to prevent the New York milk trust from grabbing the 20 per cent of the New York market that is still outside the monopoly. Leaders of the Dairy Farmers Union, an organization of 14,000 members, and Milk Industries, Inc., are negotiating the terms of a marketing



agreement to cover about 20 per cent of the milk sold at retail in the New York area.

★

#### THIRTY DAYS' MASS PICKETING

won the second big C.I.O. strike in Canada, 20 months after the General Motors strike in Oshawa. Locals 67 and 80 of the United Rubber Workers at Dominion Rubber System's two plants in Kitchener, Ont., now have the first contract with any rubber firm in Canada, binding until October 31, with termination possible on 30 days' notice after that. The strike received active assistance from C.I.O., A. F. of L., and national unions.

Thirteen hundred workers, more than 1,000 of them union members, are affected by the contract, which provides union recognition, a nine-hour day, time-and-a-half for overtime, seniority rights, and a grievance committee. Only demand not definitely won is the pay raise of five cents an hour, which is to be settled by an arbitration board, to be composed of one member chosen by the union, one by the company, and one mutually. There is also protection against discrimination, two hours' pay for employees reporting for work and finding none, and compensation for loss of work to employees wrongfully discharged.

The one-month strike was a classic example of the failure of the Mohawk Valley formula in a labor-conscious community. Employees of one of Kitchener's two other rubber plants struck last year and gained no contract, but their leadership was skillful and both citizens and surrounding farmers have come to realize that the interests of 5,000 rubber workers in a city of 35,000 are closely knit with their own.

Every section of the Mohawk Valley formula was utilized except the creation of a large police force and fixing the date for the opening of the plant. The "back-to-work movement" never had more than the 300 non-strikers and even lost many of those.

#### FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION WOULD

be restricted by a so-called anti-Nazi bill pending before the Connecticut legislature, according to the American Civil Liberties Union which is opposing similar legislation throughout the country. Arthur Garfield Hays, A.C.L.U. counsel, warned that the Connecticut bill and similar measures introduced in New York, Pennsylvania, and other states violate the constitutional rights of free speech "and establish no definite test of guilt."

★

#### THE TEXTILE WORKERS ORGANIZING

Committee, C. I. O., formed less than two years ago to organize 1,250,000 workers, will hold a constitutional convention in Philadelphia, May 15. Delegates from 32 states, representing several hundred thousand organized textile workers, are expected to attend.

★

#### A STRIKE BY 2,500 MEMBERS OF

Local 463, United Association of Plumbers and Journeymen Steamfitters, A. F. of L., for restoration of the six-hour day and two-dollar hourly wage scale has crippled construction work at the World's Fair and at other large buildings in Manhattan and the Bronx.

★

#### A. F. OF L. UNIONS PICKETING THE

University of Missouri will carry their fight for unionization of university services to the legislature now meeting in Jefferson City.

★

#### ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF

Republican Governor Heil, the Wisconsin assembly passed an anti-labor bill which repeals the little Wagner Act of 1937 and curbs many rights of unions in the state.

★

#### AN ALMOST SOLID FARM-MEMBER

vote in the Kansas House of Representatives defeated a bill which would have required payment of prevailing wages on all building projects of governmental units. Only one rural representative voted for the measure, which was backed by organized labor.

★

#### ITEMS: AMERICA'S LARGEST HOUSING

project, the new \$100,000,000 Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's project for New York's upper Bronx, housing 12,000 families, will be union designed and union engineered. . . . The Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, C.I.O., has a contract for the job. . . . A program of economic reconstruction calling for the organization of 30,000 small industrial cooperatives to produce consumable goods for homeless Chinese is reported to be underway in the interior of China. . . . Thirty-five thousand members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union gave a full day's pay, totalling \$250,000 for the relief of German and Italian refugees. . . . And at least 8,000 of the workers who donated their labor are

Italians. . . . The first radio station in Australia, owned and operated by a single labor union, began broadcasting this month at Lithgow in New South Wales. . . . The Professional Radio Employees Institute, radio artists and technicians union, are the owners.

★

#### FIGHTING INDICTMENT OF 27 C. I. O.

officials in Redding, Cal., on felony charges, because they protested against being arrested for picketing, the Tunnel Workers Union is preparing to carry the issue of picketing to Washington if necessary.

Louis Goldblatt, state C. I. O. secretary, charged the Redding tunnel workers were thrown out of employment when they insisted upon belonging to a union of their own choosing. "Because they protested by the establishment of a picket line, they were thrown into jail, and because they continued to protest they have been indicted as felons.

"The right to organize without the right to picket is practically meaningless; picketing is the keynote of labor's arch. We fought this whole thing out at the polls and defeated the anti-picketing measure. Now employers are passing local anti-picketing ordinances."

The C. I. O. is demanding the appointment of a fact-finding committee by Governor Culbert L. Olson to hold public hearings and call witnesses from the C. I. O., A. F. of L., and the employers. The resolution charges that civil liberties have been violated at Redding and that workers have been deprived of their rights under the Wagner Act.

There are now 88 pickets scattered in various jails in the vicinity because of overcrowding in Redding.

★

#### ONLY A MONTH BEFORE THE

opening date and the New York World's Fair has found itself with a Consumers Interests Building and enough written protests against its commercial exploitation of the consumer to provide a fair-sized exhibit.



The protests were signed by more than a score of experts representing consumer groups, labor unions, cooperatives, federal agencies, universities, and scientific foundations. All of the signers had served as members of the fair corporation's advisory committee on consumer interests.

Not only has the fair lost its non-commercial advisers but also half of its non-commercial consumer exhibits. Only one bona-fide consumer exhibit remains, the displays by Consumers Union, although Prof. Colston E. Warne, its president, also resigned from the committee.



## THE CONTRIBUTORS

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In order that the AMERICAN TEACHER may serve as a medium for the discussion of the educational problems of today, the contributors are not necessarily expressing the policies of the American Federation of Teachers.

## The AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ of

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

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Consulting Editor, KERMIT EBY

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## THE KEENEY CASE:

**BIG BUSINESS,  
HIGHER EDUCATION,  
AND ORGANIZED LABOR**

This is a report of an investigation made by the National Academic Freedom Committee of the American Federation of Teachers into the causes of the recent dismissal of Professor Philip O. Keeney, librarian, from Montana State University, and the role played by certain business and political interests in the affairs of the University.

Price: 10c per copy

Published by

**The American Federation of Teachers**

506 S. Wabash Ave.

Chicago, Ill.

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# Locals Urged to Push Federal Aid Bills

## Three Objectives Sought for Month

A three-point national legislative program designed to bring greater pressure for the enactment of the federal aid bills now before Congress was announced by Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, national legislative representative.



Mrs. Mary F. Grossman

The program calls for a drive for resolutions from municipal and labor bodies endorsing the federal aid legislation, a speaker's campaign, and a call for a public meeting, backing the measures.

Mrs. Grossman urged all locals in the American Federation of Teachers to carry through these objectives during the coming month, and to report all progress to her and to the *American Teacher*.

The complete schedule follows:

1. Check program for January and February. Be sure that these three points have been covered.
  - A. Get municipal labor body to pass a resolution in favor of S.1305 and H.R.3517. Be sure to have copies sent to the city council, national legislature, and Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, national legislative representative, and to Senator Elbert Thomas, chairman, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., and Representative William F. Larrabee, chairman, House Education Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
  - B. Be sure that resolutions memorializing Congress to adopt the federal aid bill have been introduced into state legislatures. Write your state senators and representatives to support the resolution.
  - C. Have your town or city council memorialize Congress to adopt the federal aid bill.
2. Send speakers to local labor and civic groups to speak on federal aid and the specific bills, S.1305 and H.R.3517. Send results of action taken by such bodies to Mrs. Grossman and the proper committees in the House and Senate.
3. Arrange for a public meeting and prepare a program based on the suggestions in the pamphlet, **Dramatizing Federal Aid**.

### AFT Committee Publishes Report On Keeney Case

The National Academic Freedom Committee headed by Arnold Shukotoff (Local 537) has just released a 30-page study called "The Keeney Case, Big Business, Higher Education, and Organized Labor."

The report deals with the dismissal of Prof. Philip O. Keeney from the University of Montana. Dr. Keeney's case has been taken to the supreme court of Montana and is being backed by the state labor movement.

The report, which is signed by the investigating committee of Hugh DeLacy, formerly of the University of Washington, H. J. Phillips, University of Washington, and Arnold Shukotoff, chairman of the N.A.F.C., may be secured by writing to the national office of the A. F. of T. and enclosing ten cents.

### Springfield, Ill., Local Wins Fight Against Pay Cut

Because of united action by members of the Springfield (Ill.) Teachers Federation, Local 601, teachers will not be forced to accept a one-week pay cut this year.

Since the local school board is faced with a deficit at the end of the year, all employees have been ordered to waive one week's pay. Local teachers regarded this action as unfair to them, because the board had balanced its budget last year and used educational funds for building purposes.

Local 601 unanimously rejected the proposal and members turned over all waivers to the union's attorney, Edmund Burke, who returned the slips unsigned to the board. The board then accepted the teacher's resolution and used other means to reduce the deficit.

The union represents nearly three-fourths of all the Springfield teachers, according to Florence Breen, local secretary.

### Trenton Teachers to Fight Proposed Salary Slashes

The Mercer County Teachers Union, of Trenton, N. J., is preparing for an anti-waiver campaign in the face of slashes proposed by the Trenton board of education.

Trenton is threatened with a large tax boost since the city council has refused to assess personal property in accordance with the law, according to Bernard Forer, local corresponding secretary.

Representatives of the public employees, including teachers, firemen, policemen, clerks, and janitors, are mapping plans for an effective protest against proposed cuts below the legal limits

of the tenure act. A giant mass meeting is being planned, at which a positive program will be proposed, showing how Trenton can pay its employees according to the salary schedule without any need for tax increases.

Representing the union at a recent conference of public employees were Addie L. Weber, Elizabeth Elder, and George Krall.

Through its legislative chairman, Lois St. John Smith, the union has asked the local board of education to set up a new system of accumulative sick leave. The union's plan is the result of two years' study.

# The AMERICAN TEACHER

In Two Parts

Part II



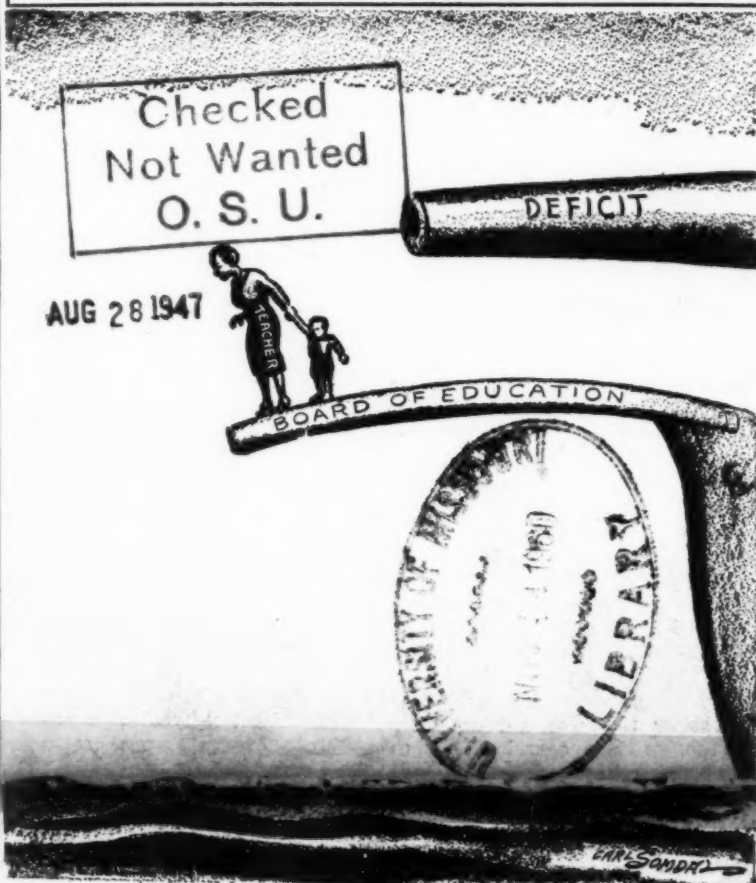
Official Organ of the American Federation of Teachers

VOLUME XXIII

March, 1939

No. 6

## WALKING THE PLANK



Illinois State Journal, March 3, 1939

"Walking the plank" in this cartoon are not only the teachers and children of America, but American Democracy itself. Throughout the country, as a hasty reading of the *American Teacher* will show, drives are being conducted against the allocation of necessary school funds. The American Federation of Teachers is engaged not only in fighting local budget slashes, but by its constant efforts in behalf of a federal aid law is providing the necessary foundation for the future of American Democracy.

## Teachers Union Organizes Eight New Locals in Month

Eight new locals of the American Federation of Teachers have been chartered by the national office during the last month, according to Irvin R. Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of T. Thirty-eight new locals have been organized since October, 1938.

New locals chartered last month are as follows:

No. 621, San Antonio Federa-

tion of Federal Teachers, Bexar County, Texas.

No. 622, WPA Educational Workers Union of Washington, D. C.

No. 623, Albany Teachers Union, Albany County, New York.

No. 624, Ingham County Federation of Teachers, Ingham County, Michigan.

No. 625, Bronxville Teachers Union, Bronxville, New York.

No. 626, Westchester County Adult Education Teachers Association, Westchester County, New York.

No. 627, Allegheny County WPA Teachers Federation, District 15, Pennsylvania.

No. 628, Federation of Teachers O'Fallon Township High School, O'Fallon, Illinois.

### Local Urges Unity In Labor Movement

A resolution urging labor unity and solidarity throughout the labor movement was adopted recently by the Western Massachusetts Teachers Federation, Local 230, of Northampton, Mass.

## AFT Opens New Drive in South

### Smith, Waggoner Hired to Organize

A new organizational drive by the American Federation of Teachers, centering chiefly in the South, was inaugurated last month in cooperation with George L. Googe, southern representative for the American Federation of Labor.

Working as full-time organizers are Stanton Smith, national A. F. of T. vice president from Chattanooga, Tenn., and Vental F. Waggoner, director of physical education of the Wood County Schools, West Virginia. Also participating in the drive will be Allie Mann, A. F. of T. vice president from Atlanta, Georgia, who will carry on the drive in her home state.

#### Will Establish Contacts

The work for the balance of the school year, according to present plans, will revolve largely around reviving inactive locals, and developing contacts with central labor bodies and trade unions for a more intensive organization program next fall.

Mr. Smith, who is also president of Local 246, will carry on the work in Tennessee and Alabama, and already is working on the establishment of a new Knoxville, Tenn., local. Mr. Waggoner, who is president of Local 382 at Parkesburg, West Virginia, will be available for work in Ohio and Virginia. At present he is meeting with teachers in Wheeling, W. Va.

#### Mann Explains Drive

Reasons for centering the drive in the South were explained by Vice President Allie Mann who said that "the general interest in Federal Aid in the South will give an impetus to the present organizational drive of the A. F. of T., particularly in the Southeast. The growing interest of the



Allie Mann Stanton Smith

labor movement in the South in education will be helpful to us at this time as will be Mr. Googe's wide contacts and experience in the southern labor movement. I feel that he will be of great help to us in this organizational campaign."

(Mr. Googe spoke at the last convention of the A. F. of T. (Continued on page 2)

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## AFT Launches New Drive in South Area

(Continued from page 1)

Copies of his talk may be secured from the national office.)

Mr. Smith stated that he had already received several inquiries about the Teachers Union from Alabama and that he hoped to investigate those after he left Knoxville. He pointed out that there is a real opportunity to organize southern teachers, particularly in the urban areas where the labor movement has been making steady progress for the last few years.

"It is not to be expected," Mr. Smith stated, "that the job can be done in two months or even six months. We hope to lay the groundwork and demonstrate the real possibilities of this region for organizing teachers' unions. We must show the southern teachers the part which the American Federation of Teachers has played in the present drive for Federal Aid, and especially the part organized labor has played. This will be extremely helpful in our organizational campaign."

Mr. Waggoner, who has been president of the West Virginia State Federation of Teachers for the last two years, also pointed out that, "the work right now will be mainly establishing contacts with central labor bodies and trying to work up some of the inactive locals. If I can bring in one or two new locals and work up some of the old locals I'll consider it a good job."

The Wood County School Board by unanimous consent gave Mr. Waggoner leave of absence for his organizing work, and Supt. John A. Davis, Jr., gave him a general letter of introduction which said of the A. F. of T.:

"This organization has a membership of three-fourths of the total number of teachers in Wood County and includes our best teachers. At all times the organization has been cooperative, loyal, and has constantly supported the board and myself in promoting higher professional standards, better salaries and working conditions for teachers, and greater opportunities for the youngsters."

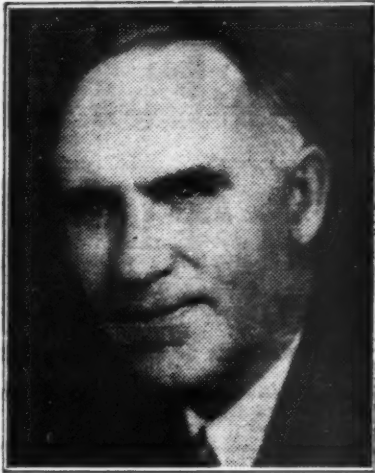
## Atlanta Averts Pay-Cut Crisis

A financial crisis which threatened to force retrenchment in the Atlanta public-school system has been solved without resort to salary cuts, the Atlanta Public School Teachers' Association, Local 89, announced.

Cause of the crisis was a deficiency of \$190,000, while the state failed to allocate Atlanta the full amount of state aid. A ruling of the city attorney enabled the school board to anticipate full payments and budget accordingly. The tentative budget was reduced \$90,000 by reducing the accounts for fuel, supply teachers, electricity, and similar expenses.

Gary, Indiana, school teachers will receive salary increases this year amounting to \$100,000 in a plan adopted by the local school board following a campaign by the Gary Teachers Union and the Gary Labor Council.

## MEMBER



Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, who is chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education, is a member of the A. F. of T. Local 259, the college local, Chicago, Ill.

## Washington, D. C., Seeks Propaganda Analysis Course

The Washington, D. C., (No. 8) Teachers' Union recently passed a resolution petitioning the board of education to establish a course in propaganda analysis at the Teachers' College and provide the study of Spanish in the lower grades as a step toward a greater understanding of the Latin-American people. Local 8 also sponsored a luncheon at which Jay Franklin, noted newspaper columnist, spoke on "The State of the Union."

In the field of legislation the local is working for the enactment of a sabbatical leave bill, a bill establishing a single-salary schedule, and an amendment to the pension law which will allow a teacher to name a beneficiary to receive any contributions to the pension fund which have not been paid back before death.

## Jessie Cline Heads Bloomington Local

Jessie Cline is the new president of the Bloomington (Ill.) Federation of Teachers (No. 276). Other officers are James Hostetler, vice president; Louise Lange, secretary; Edwin Rakow, treasurer; and P. C. Kurtz, parliamentarian.

Miss Cline and Mr. Hostetler have been active in organization work during the last five years. They assisted in organizing locals at Rockford and Springfield, and in organizing the Tri-City Local at La Salle, Peru, and Oglesby. Mr. Hostetler is also vice president of the state organization.

## Radio Program

Uniontown, Pa., Local 517, has contracted with the local radio station for a series of ten broadcasts. The first program presents County Superintendent Harry J. Brownfield, on "Tenure." Subjects to follow are "The Program of the American Federation of Teachers," "Financing Our Schools,"

## Mich. Fights Reactionary State Bills

Fighting reactionary legislation, the Michigan Federation of Teachers is pushing a six-point legislation program for enactment this year.

One of the principal objectives of the program is a drive for strengthened tenure laws. In the current session of the state legislature an attempt is being made to amend and weaken the present tenure law.

### Against Loyalty Oaths

Other points call for a campaign against discriminatory legislation such as loyalty oaths, extension of franchise in school elections, use of school buildings as community centers, and basic revision of the Michigan tax setup. The federation also is backing the federal aid program.

Michigan teachers are favoring the proposal to incorporate minimum salary provisions into the State Aid Law during the present session of the legislature. Present average teacher salary for the state approximates \$1,300, although nearly five thousand teachers in rural schools average only \$650 yearly.

The Michigan Federation of Teachers favors the adoption of schedules which will guarantee minimum salaries based on training and the type of certificate held, as follows: \$100 monthly for teacher holding any type of certificate, \$110 monthly for teacher holding life certificate, and \$120 monthly for teacher holding life certificate and degree.

In Detroit, school teachers, backed by progressive organizations, last month were preparing to resist the proposed slash in school budgets as council hearings were scheduled to open.

### Detroit Faces Slash

The Detroit Federation of Teachers pointed out that while enrollment had increased during the last eight years, the building program and teachers' staff had remained the same. A slash of nearly \$3,000,000 in the school budget had been proposed by the city council, fixing the appropriation at \$12,600,000. This would be the lowest appropriation since 1925 when the enrollment in schools was 30 per cent less.

The Detroit local sponsored a dinner honoring five visiting A. F. of T. members attending the Progressive Education Association convention last month.

Guests included Carleton Washburne and Russell Babcock, of Winnetka, Ill.; Dr. Holland D. Roberts, Stanford University; Dr. George M. Hartmann, editor of the *Social Frontier*; and Dr. George E. Axtelle of Northwestern University, A. F. of T. national vice president.

A movie showing the inequalities of education in the country is being undertaken by the Philadelphia Local (No. 474) with the aid of the Rosenwald Foundation.

## Cleveland Local Fights to Save School PWA Building Program

Strenuous efforts to salvage all or part of an \$8,000,000 program for building and rehabilitating school buildings in Cleveland is being made by the Cleveland Teachers' Union.

A Supreme Court ruling forbade the school board to issue a necessary \$4,382,000 in funds to secure funds to match those of the Public Works Administration. Such a bond issue could be made, the court ruled, only after a referendum in which 65 per cent of the voters favored the proposal.

The Union also has launched an intensive study of junior-college problems, preparatory to taking action to seek establishment of

such an institution in the city. The studies include probable cost and methods of financing, population trends and school enrollment statistics, cultural levels, community attitudes towards higher education, probable junior-college attendance, and adequacy of existing institutions in the vicinity of Cleveland.

Irvin R. Kuenzli, A. F. of T. secretary-treasurer, and Prof. Maynard Krueger, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, discussed "Why Teachers Should Affiliate with Organized Labor" before an open forum meeting of the Cleveland Local.

## Ohio University Local Aids in Teaching Staff Survey

### IN THE NEWS



Jerome Davis Michael Eck

### In the News

this month are President Jerome Davis who is sailing for England to speak at the convention of the National Teachers Union of England and Vice President Michael J. Eck, Ohio, who was recently promoted to assistant supervisor of printing in the Cleveland public schools.

## U. of Colo. Local Works with AAUP on Joint Program

A program of cooperation with local trade unions and the American Association of University Professors is being carried out by the University of Colorado Local (No. 562).

In its union activity the local is working with the Denver Union and Trades Council. At the January meeting, members of the local heard Austin Beasley, regional president of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers, C.I.O.

Working jointly with various groups, the local is fighting to prevent conversion of income tax revenues into the general funds of the state. Heretofore, the income tax has been used as replacement revenue in school districts to permit lowering of the property tax, or to increase the aggregate amount of funds available for schools. Governor Ralph Carr, elected last fall, has embarked on a program of economy, which has turned out to be economy especially in educational activities.

Together with the A.A.U.P., the local is working on a plan to secure elective chairmen of departments. A joint committee of the A.F. of T. and the A.A.U.P. are framing the plan.

## Ohio Sets Up State WPA Group

Ten Ohio W.P.A. locals, under the leadership of Lida Auville, member of the National Organizing Committee, have set up a state W.P.A. teachers section of the Ohio Federation of Teachers.

The Cleveland, Ohio, W.P.A. Local (No. 448) is working with the Federal Adult Teachers Association, affiliated with the N.E.A., in a campaign to save the W.P.A. educational program. Petitions bearing 4,000 signatures have been collected.

The proposals of President Roosevelt's advisory committee on the federal program of vocational education were discussed at the March meeting of Local 438, Ohio State University, in Columbus. The discussion was led by Norman Woelfel.

Other reports were given by William McDonald and Merries Cornell, chairman of the local's legislative committee.

### Seeks Labor Unity

At the meeting members passed a resolution calling for a referendum vote by rank and file A. F. of L. members on the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. peace issue. The local voted to send copies of the resolution to other A. F. of T. locals, the Ohio State Federation of Teachers, and the national executive council of the A. F. of T.

The Conference Committee of the Teaching Staff of Ohio State University published its first annual report. The committee was formed jointly by Local 438 and the American Association of University Professors. The Committee is planning to expand its survey this year, including a study of administrative integration of all state supported institutions under a single board and of the preparation of the budget.

### Indorse Survey

The local has indorsed a proposal by State Education Director E. N. Dietrich for a survey of the entire educational structure of the state.

At its January meeting the local also voted against the continuance of the Dies Committee and urged the lifting of the embargo by the United States against Loyalist Spain. The teachers also voted to urge the American government to consider ways of aiding refugees and victims of fascism in Europe.

Guest speaker was Ted Silvey, state secretary of the C.I.O., who discussed the recent C.I.O. national convention and the prospects for labor unity in the nation.

## Editorial Board Urges Comments

All locals of the A. F. of T. have been requested to take some official action on the work of the editorial committee of the A. F. of T. These resolutions must be in the office of the *American Teacher* by May 1.

"A number of members have written in about the newspaper supplement," George T. Guernsey, editor of the *American Teacher*, stated. "The newspapers are being published as an experiment this year with the possibility of establishing a regularly issued newspaper next year. They are mailed with the magazine in order to save extra wrapping, addressing, and postage."

## Atlanta Credit Union

Mary C. Barker is the new president of the Atlanta Teachers' Association Credit Union. Other officers are G. L. Keith, secretary, and W. Salem Brown, manager. Since its organization, the Credit Union has made loans amounting to \$150,000, serving nearly 500 teachers. The organization now has a reserve of \$270,000.

### THE AMERICAN TEACHER

Published monthly except June, July, and August by The American Federation of Teachers, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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#### EDITORIAL BOARD

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## Buffalo Union Fights School Budget Slash

Buffalo Teachers' Union Local (No. 377) is fighting a threatened cut in teachers' salaries as a result of an attempt by the local municipal administration to reduce the board of education budget.

From an original plan to trim \$1,000,000, it is now reported that the budget will be slashed \$280,000.

In an effort to protect teacher salary schedules, members of the local are urging the enactment of a state salary equalization law for teachers. Such a measure already has the indorsement of the Buffalo Federation of Labor, the State Federation of Teachers Unions, and the New York State Federation of Labor.

Local members and other union members are being urged to write letters to members of the state legislature, urging immediate enactment of an equalization bill.

Dr. Bella Dodd, legislative representative of the New York State Federation of Teachers Unions, attacked state taxpayer, business, and industrial associations who recommended a \$31,000,000 cut in education under the state budget.

The slash, Dr. Dodd noted, was proposed by the Real Estate Taxpayers' Association, the Merchants' Association, and the Associated Industries, who cited the budget deficit of \$33,000,000.

## Model Tenure Bill Published

Dr. Ross Thalheimer, chairman of the Model Bill Bureau of the National Legislative Committee, has just issued a model bill on tenure which has been sent to all locals of the American Federation of Teachers.

The bill is intended to serve as a guide to A. F. of T. locals and other teachers' organizations throughout the country in drafting of tenure bills for their respective states. The bill should not be introduced in any state legislature without being amended in accordance with the distinctive features existing in the state concerned.

Inquiries concerning the bill should be addressed to Dr. Thalheimer, 5603 Roxbury Place, Baltimore, Md.

## Schuman Talks for Local 460

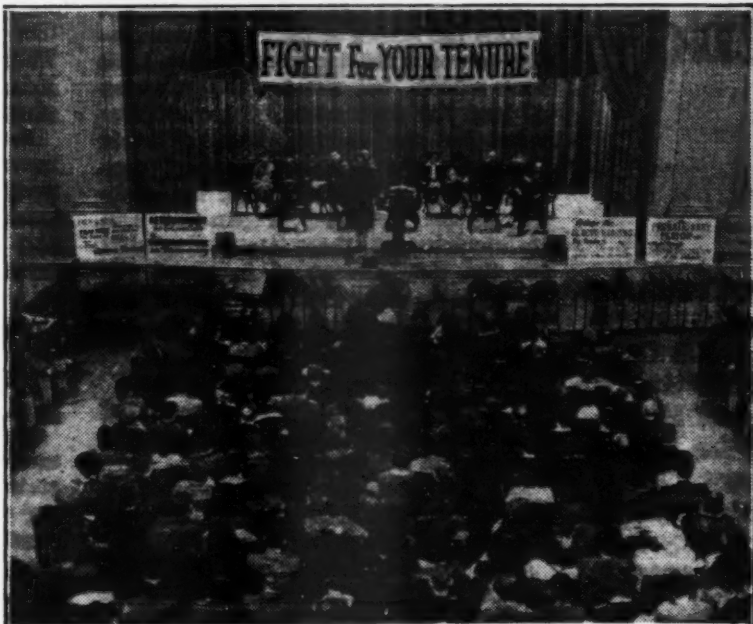
Local 460 (Evanston, Ill.) has devoted its last two meetings to a discussion of the Illinois tenure bill by William Voss, legislative chairman, and a discussion of the function of a teachers' union led by Kermit Eby, executive-secretary of the Chicago local (No. 1).

Lillian Herstein, who has charge of lectures for the junior colleges in Chicago, will speak to Local 460 on April 5. Headed by John Eberhart, the college section is working on a midwestern conference of college unions to be held on April 29. Dr. Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College spoke for the Educational Policies Committee on "Hitler's Next Move" on March 30.

## Lehman Appoints Barr

Mrs. Minerva Barr, one of the thirteen Dewey teachers ordered reinstated by the New York Supreme Court, has been appointed to the State Tenure Commission by Governor Herbert Lehman. Mrs. Barr, who was one of the leaders in the fight to secure the passage of the state tenure law, was presented by Governor Lehman with the pen with which he signed the state tenure bill.

## FIGHTS TO PROTECT TENURE



Philadelphia, Pa. (No. 192), sponsors a city-wide meeting in defense of the Mundy Tenure Act which is being subjected to a barrage of amendments in the state legislature. Speakers in defense of the Act were State Senator Leo Mundy, Representative Herbert Cohen of York, Pa., Dr. Rheinhold Goll of the Principals' Club, and Sarah T. Walsh, chairman of the local's legislative committee. Roland Eaton, representative of the School Directors' Association which is seeking to amend the Act, spoke in favor of amending it.

## Philadelphia Local Protests Revision of Bill at Meeting

Five speakers, including two members of the state legislature, addressed the tenure meeting of Local 192, Philadelphia, Pa., on March 10 in the auditorium of Girls' High School. The meeting was held to rally teachers against the amendments to the Tenure Act which have been introduced recently.

"I am for maintaining the Teachers Tenure Act in its entirety," stated Senator Leo Mundy, author of the Act, at the meeting. He warned against the forces working to amend the Act which sought control of "not only who shall teach, but what shall be taught."

Mr. Roland Eaton, representing the School Directors' Association which is leading the fight to amend the act, was the next speaker. Not interested in pulling his punches, Mr. Eaton said, "The school directors do not believe that any appreciable number of teachers needed or wanted tenure. We do not believe it is good for the schools or the teaching profession generally." Advocating the married teachers amendment to the Act, Mr. Eaton stated, "The employment of two adults of a family is as bad as the concentration of wealth in a few families."

Surprise of the meeting was Dr. Rheinhold Goll, president of the Principals' Club, who appeared on the platform to challenge Mr. Eaton with the statement that his group had gone on record in favor of the Tenure Act and against all amendments.

In answer to an objection voiced by Mr. Eaton to teacher pressure groups, State Representative Herbert Cohen of York, Pa., answered, "I wish to say to you that it is refreshing to have some pressure from the teachers, differentiating from the pressure of the directors. We are in a democracy."

## Toledo, Ohio, Local Fights Teacher Payless Pay Days

Toledo teachers are receiving only a portion of their salary, and payless pay days are imminent. In March, teachers received only 88 per cent of their February checks.

In an appraisal of the immediate future, the *Weekly Bulletin* of the Toledo Federation of Teachers editorializes, "From now on the picture, financially speaking, looks rather black. By the

## SUPPORT CIVIL LIBERTIES BILL

All locals of the American Federation of Teachers are urged to write their senators to support the continuation of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee which is just concluding its valuable work. For more information about the work of this committee write to the U. S. printing office for copies of Report No. 46, Parts 1-4, 75th Congress, and Report No. 6, 76th Congress.

## No. 39 Celebrates 20th Anniversary

Local 39, Buffalo Industrial Arts Teachers, celebrated the 20th anniversary of its affiliation with the A. F. of T. on January 30. More than 100 members and friends were present. President F. K. Quirk welcomed the guests and Norman O. Kleason acted as toastmaster for the evening. Arthur Soloman read some of the early minutes of the local but the high spot of the evening was the cutting of a birthday cake baked by the boys of the Emerson Vocational High School.

The Industrial Arts Union also has appointed a committee to study the advisability of combining Locals 39 and 377, the Academic Teachers' Union. The report of this committee will be given next year.

## Indorse F. D. R.

The El Paso, Texas, Local 236, has passed a resolution, indorsing President Franklin D. Roosevelt for a third term. At the recommendation of the union, the resolution has been adopted by the Texas State Federation of Labor.

## California AFT Locals Sponsor Education Bills

### Members Attend State Conference

An anti-coercion bill, which would give freedom to each teacher to join any organization of his choosing, has been sponsored by the California Federation of Teachers and introduced into the state legislature.

The bill was introduced by Ralph Dill, chairman of the committee on education of the California Assembly and a member of the Los Angeles Local (430) of the A. F. of T.

The bill would prevent administrators from exercising pressure on teachers to join organizations favored by the supervisors.

Another bill introduced with Union backing would set up a free employment bureau for public-school teachers in every county of the state except those appointing teachers upon the basis of competitive examinations.

### Other Bills Sponsored

A third Union sponsored bill would prohibit investigation into the religious, political, economic or other affiliations or beliefs of applicant teachers. Another measure would give tenure to teachers in state colleges and universities; another would entitle teachers to 100 days sick leave in each school year, ten days of which would be cumulative to a total of 50 days.

Teachers' problems cannot be isolated from the problems of relief, public health, youth, and housing, Dewey Anderson, California state relief administrator, told a delegation of teachers meeting in a two-day legislative conference in Berkeley, Calif., February 17 and 18.

Sponsored by the Stanford University Local of the American Federation of Teachers, the meeting was attended by delegates representing virtually every major teacher organization in the state. The delegates studied nearly 280 state bills on education and made recommendations for presentation to the state assembly.

Professor Harold Chapman Brown, head of the philosophy department at Stanford, of the A. F. of T. local, and national vice president of the A. F. of T., was a delegate to a "people's parley" at Sacramento, on March 12 and 13, attended by 120 representatives of 50 state-wide organizations. Another delegate was Marguerite Ellis, head of the state teachers' body.

Called by Lieutenant Governor Ellis E. Patterson, the conference was designed to hear the views of representative groups on necessary legislation for the state, and to discuss means of carrying out Governor Culbert Olson's program, which swept him into office at the November elections.

## BAR MARRIED TEACHERS

The Ohio State Federation of Teachers is fighting a bill introduced into the state house of representatives providing for the dismissal of married teachers in Ohio's public schools.

The clause containing the provision reads, "It shall be the duty of every board of education to discharge every married teacher, principal, supervisor, or school superintendent, or other officer or employee of the board of education, whose wife or husband is engaged in a gainful occupation."

## Patterson Local Defeats 10% Cut in School Budget

Seeking full restoration of pay to teachers below the maximum salary, the Increment Committee of the Patterson, N. J., Teachers Union (Local 482), is circulating petitions among citizens of Paterson.

A hearing on the proposed school budget last month developed an unusual contest between representatives of the Patterson, N. J., Teachers' Union and the local Taxpayers' League, in which the program of the latter went down to substantial defeat.

Lobbyists for the Taxpayers' League demanded a cut of 10 per cent in the school budget. Letitia Willett of the A. F. of T. local urged the board to grant increments to teachers in the lower brackets of the salary schedule who had suffered from suspension of increments during the early 1930's.

After the hearing, the board of education adopted a budget of \$2,817,359, an amount approximately \$8,500 less than the 1938-39 budget request.

Members of the local, in line with the action of other locals in the state, are fighting the appeal of the state mandatory laws which would permit further wage slashes of teachers and other municipal employees throughout the state.

The local recently became affiliated with Labor's Non-Partisan League of New Jersey.

Election of officers will be held Tuesday, April 4.

## Madison Studies Co-Ops

The Madison Teacher of March 15 is a Co-op issue. Copies of the four-page issue may be secured from Local 223 by writing to the Teachers' Union, Box 147, Madison, Wis. The lead editorial is entitled "Cooperation and the Trade Unions."

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# Federal Aid Measures Analyzed in AFT Study

## Legislative Chairman Discusses Two Proposals Now Before U.S. Congress

By Mary Foley Grossman  
National Legislative Representative

THE SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS has before it two significant bills for federal aid; H.R. 3517, sponsored by Representative William F. Larrabee, chairman of the House Education Committee, and S. 1305, sponsored by Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi. The House bill was introduced first and consequently the Senate bill seems to have come along with slightly better phraseology. There are other minor differences which have little bearing on our concerted drive to have the two bills passed. The Senate bill does not make any specific reference to funds for non-public schools. The House bill contains the original permissive clause from the old Harrison-Fletcher bill.

There are two fundamental points in both bills:

1. The definition of the fields of educational work covered and the amounts appropriated.
2. The method by which appropriations should be calculated.

An analysis and discussion of S. 1305, cited as the "Federal Aid to Education Act of 1939," can give a complete picture of the educational needs of any community, which is the surest way of measuring its potency. This is a condensed picture under the different titles and does not cover fully the working plan or the restrictions under each title.

### Title I. Grants to States for the Improvement of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

Part 1. Plan of general federal aid.—For "equalizing opportunities for elementary and secondary education."

#### APPROPRIATION

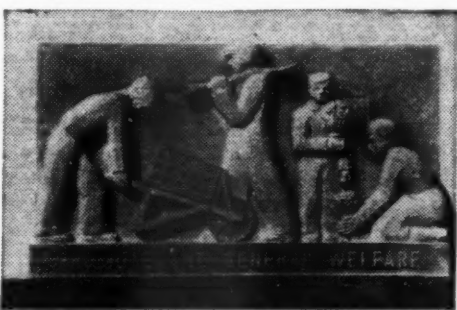
For fiscal years ending:

June 30, 1940.....	\$ 40,000,000
June 30, 1941.....	60,000,000
June 30, 1942.....	80,000,000
June 30, 1943.....	100,000,000
June 30, 1944.....	120,000,000
June 30, 1945.....	140,000,000

#### USES

For general expenses, salaries, and maintenance; for the purpose of improving the training of teachers in service; for school library service, including books and salaries; health, welfare, and recreational activities as placed under public elementary and secondary schools through community plans; nursery schools and kindergartens; junior colleges; services for handicapped pupils; educational and vocational guidance; adult educational and recreational activities carried on by public-school systems; textbooks, reading materials, and other instructional supplies; transportation of pupils.

Part 2. Improved teacher preparation.—For improving the preparation of teachers and other educational personnel.



Courtesy of Farm Security Administration  
Photograph by Rothstein

Bas-relief called "Promote the General Welfare" which appears on the new school at Greenbelt, Md. Necessary to the general welfare of the American people is the present Federal Aid Bill (S.1305) which Dr. Floyd Reeves has characterized as "necessary to meet the needs and supply the opportunities that are basic to the perpetuation of our democratic institutions."

#### APPROPRIATION

For the fiscal years ending:

June 30, 1940.....	\$2,000,000
June 30, 1941.....	4,000,000
From 1942-45 inclusive:	
Annually.....	6,000,000

#### USES

Provides for separate teacher-preparation institutions of more than junior-college grade; teacher-preparation divisions operated as parts of colleges and universities; and other schools, colleges, and departments operated as parts of colleges and universities in which substantial proportions of the students are preparing for elementary- and secondary-school teaching and administration, student guidance, school-library service, adult-education service, and educational research.

Part 3. Construction of school buildings.—To enable states to facilitate the construction, improvement, and equipment of buildings for public elementary and secondary schools.

#### APPROPRIATION

For the fiscal year ending:

June 30, 1940.....	\$20,000,000
--------------------	--------------

From 1941-45 inclusive,

Annually..... 30,000,000

#### USES

For general construction, including facilities for school libraries and community-center activities in connection with such schools, but not for the purchase of land for such school purposes. Provides for the establishment of state standards for the location and construction of school buildings, the making of surveys, and preparation and maintenance of these state standards for the development of improved administrative units and attendance areas.

Part 4. Administration of state departments of education.

#### APPROPRIATION

A. Flat sum of \$5,000 is appropriated to every state wishing to participate in the benefits of the Act.

B. The remainder is appropriated on the basis of financial need as follows: For the fiscal years ending:

June 30, 1940.....	\$1,000,000
June 30, 1941.....	1,500,000
From 1942-45 inclusive:	
Annually.....	2,000,000

#### USES

For facilitating the improvement of state departments of education and to enable them to carry on effectively the additional duties vested in them by states accepting the provisions of this Act. No fund appropriated under this part can be used for salaries of members of boards, officials elected by popular vote, or the chief state school officer.

Part 5. Provisions applicable generally.—This part provides for the state support of education in addition to federal aid and also covers the acceptance and administration of funds to be received including "a just and equitable apportionment of such funds for the benefit of schools and teacher preparation institutions maintained for minority races, in States where separate schools are maintained for separate races."

It also provides that the state treasurer, or corresponding official in that state, serve as trustee for funds apportioned. It provides for the payment of the apportionment in four equal installments, as soon after the first day of each quarter as may be feasible, beginning with the quarter commencing July 1, 1939, and the auditing of the apportionments, including the suspension of succeeding payments for irregularities in expending of preceding payments.

### Title II. Grants to States for Adult Education

In order to assist the states to make adequate provision for adult educational services.

#### APPROPRIATION

For the fiscal years ending:

June 30, 1940.....	\$5,000,000
June 30, 1941.....	10,000,000
From 1942-45, annually.....	15,000,000

#### USES

For current operating expenses, including salaries and books, necessary to provide for the teaching of illiterates, citizenship classes for aliens, workers' education, facilities for self-education, and other adult educational services, through public schools, public libraries, colleges, universities, and other public educational institutions and agencies. In connection with this program, the state adult educational authority shall appoint and consult with a representative council composed of one member from each major type of adult educational activity, both rural and urban.

### Title III. Grants to States for Rural Library Service

In order to facilitate adequate provision for library service primarily for rural inhabitants throughout the various states.

#### APPROPRIATION

For the fiscal years ending:

June 30, 1940.....	\$2,000,000
June 30, 1941.....	4,000,000
From 1942-45 inclusive:	
Annually.....	6,000,000

#### USES

For salaries, books, periodicals, other publications, library supplies, equipment, and for other current operating and maintenance expenses of public-library services. For salaries and other expenses of the state library adminis-

trative agency. It also provides for a plan to be submitted to the Commissioner of Public Education by each state, for effectively lessening inequalities of opportunity for library service.

### Title IV. Grants for Co-operative Educational Research and Demonstrations, and for Administration

For the purpose primarily of making necessary surveys and plans in connection with the best utilization of the grants to states authorized in this act, and for other cooperative educational research and demonstration projects.

#### APPROPRIATION

From June 30, 1940, to fiscal year

ending June 30, 1945, inclusive. . . .

3 per cent of total grants each year

#### USES

Available to the Office of Education and other competent agencies of the states, 60 per cent. The remaining 40 per cent will be available to the Commissioner of Public Education for direct expenditure in research, survey, planning, and demonstration activities.

### Title V. Education of Children Residing on Federal Reservations and at Foreign Stations

#### APPROPRIATION

Such sums as may be necessary, not to exceed \$3,000,000 for fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and ensuing fiscal years.

#### USES

To assure opportunity for public elementary and secondary education to children legally residing on federal reservations and properties and to children of United States citizens on duty at foreign stations of the United States, and to be comparable in quality and availability to the education provided in the public schools of the various states. Children are eligible to the benefits of this title when it is determined by the Commissioner of Public Education that provision has not been made for the education of the children at public expense. Transportation is also included for the children under this title.

Not for children of the Indians and of the natives of Alaska already provided for, nor for expenditure in the Canal Zone.

### Title VI. General and Miscellaneous Provisions

Provides for a definition of terms used throughout this Act and also outlines special areas of possessions. It contains no appropriations, but provides for a representative committee of industry, labor, agriculture, homemaking, the professions, and the public generally to meet not less than twice a year. It decrees that the whole Act and the Commissioner will be under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and also provides for a full and complete report on the status of education, published annually, and reporting separately on educational facilities for any minority racial group.

Under all titles there are provisions for strict accounting for federal aid funds between the Federal Government and the state, and the state and local educational authority. Also for reporting and counseling, for the regular preparation and submission of data on the funds and on surveys, research, and future forecasting of needs. The general theme all through S. 1305, however, is that the state will have a free hand in conducting its own educational campaign.

The second important phase of the bill (S. 1305) is the method to be used in apportioning funds. This will be done on the basis of objectively deter-

(Continued on page 7)



Courtesy of Farm Security Administration  
Photograph by Vachon

In Greenhills, Ohio, not only the children of this community have the advantage of attending this fine school, but adults as well may use the building as a center for community living. As the problems of American democracy grow more complex, centers of this sort are necessary for adult discussion if democracy is to be maintained.



Courtesy of Farm Security Administration  
Photograph by Rothstein

A bas-relief on the subject, "Establish Justice," which appears on the newly built school at Greenbelt, Md. The passage of S. 1305 will provide a more just system of education for all children.



# New York WPA Local Seeks Teacher Credit

## More Than One Million Trained by Federal Program; Value of Work Recognized

By Laura Liebman  
Chairman, National WPA Committee

**M**ORE THAN A MILLION MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN are now participating in the W.P.A. Education and Recreation Program in New York City. Adults are learning to read and write in unprecedented numbers; many thousands are attending trade and technical courses; civic and cultural subjects are reaching new strata of the population. Neighborhood centers offer profitable leisure-time activities, with a varied program that includes athletics, games, arts and crafts, music, puppetry, dramatics, etc. In the public schools of the city, new teaching techniques are being devised for backward and handicapped children; a new approach is employed for problem, truant, and delinquent children.

This bold educational venture has attracted wide attention.

After more than four years of continuous operation under the supervision of the Board of Education and under the scrutiny of many other experts in the field of education, the value of the Education and Recreation Program has been generally recognized.

But the teachers, counsellors, and other professional personnel engaged on these projects have, until now, received no such recognition.

### Recognition Campaign for Services Being Rendered

The organization of the educational workers on the projects, the W.P.A. Teachers Union, Local 453, has been engaged in a campaign to obtain recognition for the services being rendered. The Union's Experience Credit Committee succeeded in channelizing the appreciative response by educators, teacher organizations, parent organizations, and the community in general to the splendid work done. As a result, the Board of Education is now discussing the advisability of granting experience credit to W.P.A. professional personnel. A hearing was held by the Board of Education for this purpose on January 31.

The hearing was conducted by Associate Superintendent William E. Grady, chairman of the Joint Committee on License Requirements. This Committee was assigned to make recommendations to the Board of Education regarding credit for W.P.A. experience after a conference on the subject between Colonel Somervell, W.P.A. administrator, and James Marshall, Board President.

### Granting of Experience Credit Requested for WPA Teachers

At this hearing the W.P.A. Teachers Union requested that experience credit for service on the W.P.A. Education and Recreation Program be granted to teachers, counsellors, recreation teachers, recreation workers, and professional personnel engaged in the medical, psychological, and social service. The reasons advanced for this request were:

1. The W.P.A. Education and Recreation Workers are engaged in educational activities that are an essential part of the public-education program of this City.
2. Experience credit will facilitate admission to the regular school system of a personnel skilled in remedial and diagnostic techniques, in the individual approach desired, as embodied in Remedial Reading and Arithmetic, Lip Reading, Activity, Recreation, Adult Education, and Nursery Schools and Parent Education Programs.
3. Experience credit will facilitate admission of a skilled personnel into the State, Federal, and other educational systems.
4. Credit for work done on the W.P.A. Education and Recreation Program has been granted in a number of instances.
5. In extending credit for W.P.A. work, the Board of Education and the State Department of Education will be following their own precedents."

Leonard Hanken, president of the Adult Students League, in his plea for credit, cited the following statement by

William E. Grady:

"To the teachers on this project who have carried the brunt of the work special praise should be given. After facing misfortune and even disaster in their own lives, they have been assigned to the difficult task of teaching for a minimum wage, with little technical training, with no assurance of security of position, with no vacations for recuperation. They have been compelled, at times, to work without supplies and equipment necessary to do a good job, and with pupil groups that, despite the best of intentions on their part, present extremely difficult teaching and personality problems. Yet, in spite of all these handicaps, the teachers have been loyal, industrious, honest, and efficient in the performance of their duty. One might be accused of extravagance if one were to praise them as highly as they deserve."

Other speakers at the hearing unanimously praised the work of the projects so that when the conference was adjourned, it appeared that there was no question on the principal issue, the only problems being: amount of credit, age requirements, and in-service training.

### Other Speakers Agree that Credit Should Be Given

Speakers at the hearing included Mrs. Margaret Lindquist, president of the New York Principals Association; Dr. Frederick Houlaw, representing the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations; Mrs. Cahan of the Teachers Guild; and Dr. Bernard Riess, spokesman for the Joint Board of Teachers Unions.

The first three organizations cautioned against the lowering of professional standards but were agreed that credit should be given. Dr. Riess gave his unqualified approval.

Following the hearing, the Teachers Union made the following recommendations:

1. *Amount of credit.*—Hour-for-hour credit for work performed on Education and Recreation Projects.
2. *Age requirements.*—The same age limit permitted applicants who formerly served in positions under the direct supervision of the Board of Education.
3. *In-service training.*—To be extended and credited toward educational requirements.

James Marshall, president of the Board of Education declared:

"We have several thousand W.P.A. teachers in the city and at present they are in blind-alley jobs. For their morale and the good of the service it seemed to Colonel Somervell and myself that it would be a good idea to try to give to those who are qualified otherwise an opportunity to meet the specific educational and service requirements for teaching licenses.

"It is not our intention to lower the standards required of teachers or to interfere with the merit system."

The whole question is now under consideration by the Joint Committee on License Requirements; and friends of the W.P.A. workers, who are interested in seeing this credit granted, should communicate with the committee.



Courtesy of Farm Security Administration  
Photograph by Rothstein

Children in Skyline Farms, Ala., attend this schoolhouse for their three R's. Notice the tree-stump chairs for the students and the oil barrel which apparently has been made into a stove. Recent reports show that 2,500,000 children of elementary-school age in the United States are not in school and that 2,500,000 are in schools that are little better than none.

## WPA Curriculum Determined by Study of Student Interests

By Anna Mae Brady,  
Local 346

**B**ORN DURING the deep depression, the Workers' Education Division of the Adult Education Program of W.P.A. was largely without benefit of the patterns of its progenitors. But it was a lusty infant, fired with the vision of its potentialities and the pure joy of adventure. Soon it was on its own feet, organizing into classes workers from the fields and the factories. Then—what to teach them?

Should the curriculum be based on the experiences of the workers? That idea, excellent as it was, was not enough, it was soon decided. In order to train the workers to become aware of the existence of social and economic forces which play so large a part in fashioning their lives, and to develop a sense of responsibility for engaging, as workers, in intelligent social action—in order to accomplish these things—it was deemed necessary to build a curriculum based on the needs and interests of the students.

How to discover the needs and interests of the students? That was easy. All the teacher had to do was to ask them why they had come to class and what they expected to get out of it.

### WPA Teacher's Role Differs from That of Traditional Instructor

At this point it became increasingly clear that the role of the leader of workers' classes differed fundamentally from that of the traditional instructor. It was not the function of a workers' education teacher to decide what a group of students should know, but to discover what these students wanted to know; not to tell the class what its interests should be, but to find out what its interests were; not to deal with problems which were found in either a textbook or the teacher's experience, but to deal with the problems which the worker-students felt were their problems.

This, naturally, led to certain conclusions; first, that such questions as the causes of poverty, unemployment, and relief, as well as all highly controversial issues, would have to be dealt with, not avoided; second, that in order to assist the worker to become an active, intelligent participant in our democracy, workers' education classes would of necessity have to be laboratories of democratic living; third, that new techniques would have to be employed in order to solve the student problem, satisfy or

adjust his need, and develop skill in meeting life situations.

After several years' experience in developing student-centered rather than subject-centered classes throughout the country, it has been deemed advisable to attempt to get a picture of the community of interests of students from different states, from varied industries, from different educational levels.

### Survey Now Under Way Representing Varied Group

To that end a survey is being conducted which shows what 825 men and women from seven states want to study. These 519 men and 306 women represent such varied occupations as steel, packing, railroad, lumber, agriculture, office, household, and W.P.A. Their classes are held in union halls, settlement houses, Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, libraries, public schools, and educational centers.

The broad subject of unemployment appears, at the moment, to constitute the problem of many students to whom this survey was directed.

The tool subjects, English, reading, writing, spelling, are seldom selected as an end in themselves. The students say, rather, that they want to learn to read so they can find out what is happening in America and in all parts of the world. They are avid to learn to write and spell, not that these subjects are important as subjects, but they want to know how to write and spell in order to be able to fill out the innumerable questionnaires put out by their unions, their shops, the relief stations, and be able to write the minutes of meetings, reports, and letters to their congressmen, and put out leaflets.

Miss Brady's chart, which we were unable to publish, shows that of the students she studied 29 per cent were interested in unemployment problems, 21 per cent in tool subjects, 13 per cent in trade-union problems, 10 per cent in national and international affairs, 13 per cent in labor legislation, 10 per cent in farm problems, and 4 per cent in miscellaneous.

At the moment, workers from all sections of the country are flocking into classes to find out what all this talk about changing the Wagner Act really means, what is this Social Security Act anyway, and are they going to lose W.P.A. jobs if the \$150,000,000 Deficiency Appropriation is not passed. The teacher who avoids such subjects is destined to find himself without any students.

To have significance, workers' education must not only be based on the needs and interests of the students as they are evidenced today, but it must have, in addition, enough freedom and flexibility and be administered by those with enough vision to anticipate the needs and the interests of tomorrow.



# Teachers Union Backs Graduated Income Tax

## Opposes Retroactive Principle of Taxation

By Stewart Y. McMullen,  
Local 460

EVER SINCE THE INTRODUCTION of the Federal Income Tax in 1913, salaries of municipal employees and interest on municipal bonds have been exempt from tax. For reasons which will be discussed later, it is probable that this special treatment will be ended in the present session of Congress.

The exempt status of municipal salaries and interest was originally forced on Congress by the Supreme Court. This exemption has its basis in our dual (national and state) form of government, the underlying constitutional theory being that the national and state governments, which are supreme within their own spheres, may not burden or otherwise interfere with one another, either through taxation or in any other manner. In the year 1819 John Marshall, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, said (McCulloch v. Maryland, 4 Wheat 316): "The power to tax involves the power to destroy" and held invalid a tax levied by the State of Maryland upon bank notes issued by the Bank of the United States. Not until 1870 was the doctrine extended to prevent the federal taxation of the salary of a state official (Collector v. Day, 11 Wall 113).

### Judicial Trend Toward Extending Immunity Now Being Reversed

There is now evidence that the Supreme Court has reversed the judicial trend toward extending the immunity and is working back toward the original meaning of McCulloch v. Maryland. Last summer (in the Gerhardt case) the Court held the salaries of officials of the Port of New York Authority subject to tax; the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States is that this decision has swept aside the exemption of municipal salaries and interest. The Court ruled that only those functions essential to the preservation of a state government are exempt from tax and a non-discriminatory income tax on all salaries and interest, including the salaries of municipal employees and the interest on municipal bonds presumably no longer is considered a burden which endangers the existence of a state government. The Court has adopted the doctrine of the late Justice Holmes that "the power to tax is not the power to destroy so long as this Court sits."

While it is now apparently constitutionally proper to tax municipal salaries and interest, the existing federal income-tax law does not do so. A bill has been prepared and will be introduced into Congress during the present session. Teachers are therefore called upon to take a stand upon certain issues.

### Decision on These Issues Now Face Teachers

1. Are they in favor of the taxation of municipal employees' salaries received during 1939 and thereafter? The federal income tax is levied only on amounts of income in excess of \$1,110, if single, or \$2,775, if married. These amounts take into account the earned income credit. The tax is \$40 per \$1,000 of excess income.

2. Are they in favor of the retroactive taxation of municipal employees' salaries received prior to 1939? Congress has the right to make the tax retroactive for twelve years where (as is usually the case with municipal employees) no return has been filed. Although the Treasury Department has to date refused to make its position definite on this issue, it would appear that the intention is to make the tax retroactive for three years.

3. Are they in favor of the taxation of the interest on municipal bonds not now outstanding? To state it otherwise, should municipal bonds to be issued in the future be offered to the public with the understanding that the interest will be subject to tax?

4. Are they in favor of the taxation of the interest received in 1939 and thereafter on municipal bonds now outstanding?

5. Are they in favor of the retroactive taxation of interest received prior to 1939 on municipal bonds now outstanding?

Most prominent of those who oppose all such taxation is an organization called the Conference on State Defense. This organization came into being May 31, 1938, at a conference in Washington called by the attorneys general of New York and Connecticut; forty attorneys-general are participating in the work of the Conference. The published objectives of the organization are "to oppose any attempt to tax the interest on municipal bonds now outstanding 'without first securing . . . a constitutional amendment'; to prohibit 'absolutely any federal taxation of the revenues and outstanding securities of the states . . . ; to prevent the retroactive application of any federal tax upon municipal employees.'"

Assume that Henry Robinson had an income of \$1,000,000 derived entirely from corporation bonds and that Frank Jerrems had an income of \$1,000,000 derived entirely from municipal bonds. Robinson would pay a federal income tax of approximately \$640,000; Jerrems would not pay one cent. Furthermore, though George Trainor might have an income from municipal bonds and also from other sources, the exempt municipal bond interest is freed of tax at the highest rate of tax to which he might have been subject; the federal income tax is graduated all the way up to 79 per cent and an individual in the highest bracket would save tax amounting to \$790 per \$1,000 of income. This is the reason why the exemption of municipal bond interest is a major means of defeating the federal income tax on large incomes; it is probably a more important loop-hole than the capital gains provisions. And this is the reason why the taxation of municipal bond interest has been favored by so-called liberals and conservatives alike. Presidents Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Roosevelt and the late Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon, are all on record as favoring the taxation of municipal bond interest.

### Series of Resolutions Passed by AFT Executive Council

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers considered the issues involved in this problem on December 29 and passed a series of resolutions.

It was resolved that the American Federation of Teachers is "opposed to retroactive taxes on salaries," but that "we reaffirm our position in favor of the principle of a graduated income tax on all groups, with adequate exemptions in the lower income brackets." The Council was of the opinion that as the present income-tax law provides for graduated taxation according to size of income, and provides reasonable exemptions in the lower income brackets, there was no reason why teachers should not assume an income-tax burden comparable to that assumed by other citizens.

It was resolved "that the American Federation of Teachers favors the immediate passage of a bill subject to the federal income tax all interest on state and municipal bonds to be hereafter issued; that it favors also the taxation of all interest on state and other municipal bonds now outstanding provided some reasonable means is devised to maintain the market value of such bonds, but not otherwise; that it favors the immediate passage of legislation to accomplish the above purposes and that it favors recourse to a constitutional amendment only if the Supreme Court holds that no other remedy is adequate to achieve the desired end; and that it favors, under like circumstances, the taxation of all interest on bonds issued by the federal government and its instrumentalities." That the taxation of municipal bond interest would raise the interest rate on such bonds and thus increase the costs of the state and local governments was recognized.

However, the substantial assistance the federal government is already giving the states through grants-in-aid, and the probability that, through federal aid to education and other measures, such grants would be increased in the future, were deemed to be offsetting factors. It was also recognized that pension funds, invested in municipal bonds, would be adversely affected by the taxation of interest on bonds now outstanding, and it was provided that such taxation was favored only if "some reasonable means is devised to maintain the market value of such bonds, but not otherwise"; as future issues will carry a higher interest rate the objection was felt to apply only to the taxation of interest on bonds now outstanding.

In support of the taxation of municipal bond interest a great variety of reasons was developed. It was recognized that fairness in income taxation requires the closing of all loop-holes whereby large incomes escape their fair tax burden and that if a tax on intangibles, difficult at best to collect, is escaped by some, the willingness of others to pay their proper taxes is destroyed.

It was seen also that not only does the exemption of municipal bond interest discriminate in favor of certain taxpayers, it discriminates in favor of unearned in-

come at the expense of those who earn their incomes. It was believed, furthermore, that the exemption entices capital away from productive enterprise and retards the flow of new capital into industry because those with large incomes often find the net return from a risky investment actually lower, after taxes, than the tax exempt yield of a municipal bond; therefore, those of substantial wealth, who would normally be expected to make the high-risk investments, have no incentive to do so and bid instead for large quantities of municipal bonds, thus driving down the yield which financial institutions, pension funds, and other depositories of savings, primarily seeking safety and not tax exemption, can hope to enjoy.

In short, the Executive Council felt that a matter involving the national welfare was involved and that the policy of the American Federation of Teachers would be to support the closing of an important loop-hole in the federal income tax, while vigorously opposing any action which would discriminate against or unduly burden teachers. Accordingly, it was "resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers refuses to endorse the legislative program of the Conference on State Defense because of the confusion of the salary and bond interest issues."

## Democratic Process Must Be Strengthened to Endure

By Howard Edminster  
Local 61

MOST PERSONS believing in democracy seek today a new orientation of political faith. Munich has illustrated harrowingly that democracy as a system can be operated by the sinews of the enemy. Consistent democrats, faced by the demonstrated strength of reaction within and without the democracies of the world, either must claim the sinews of the system inalienably as their own or abandon their faith. Claiming the sinews involves a redefinition.

Democracy is basically a process, not a system. It is the construction and reconstruction of the environment, physical, social, ideological, aimed at increasing the amount of material and cultural satisfaction of the mass.

For the reason that historical movement under government by popular representation has advanced this process steadily, concurrently working through and transforming various institutional vehicles, it is evident that the process is the reality. Form has altered, process has persisted. Government by consent of the governed is an instrument which takes meaning according to use. "By consent of the governed" denotes a means, a system, and statesmen can stretch "consent" to cover both the abolition of the system and the subversion of the process. But this is not the real meaning of democracy. The real meaning is in the good experienced through the direction taken and the goal set. Democracy is menaced today for this essential meaning which, as the continuation of a process, calls for an expansion of cultural and material production even though it may entail a reorganization of the prevailing system of commodity distribution.

### Civil Liberties Fundamental for Survival of Democracy

Democracy is a process through which social cooperation is rewarded and predatory rivalry is penalized. It is the bolstering of conditions of voluntarism and the sapping of conditions of compulsion. It is the disciplining of the mass by the mass through the achievements of mass action and the necessity of consolidating such achievement. It is the fostering of civil liberties, the very fundamentals of reasoned movement through history. Holding them as essential to the total process as vision is to mapping new country, democracy permits them to be restricted only when the survival of the process is at stake—as vision is restricted by goggles in a sandstorm—and orders them to be extended as the process is.

The meaning of democracy cannot be

considered apart from the problem of power. Fascism stalks the earth for new markets and raw materials, bullying all nations, firing and gutting any government so scrupulous as to want mass support. In capitalist countries still without dictators, vast pyramids of wealth stand frozen solid, and popular parliaments go begging. Monopoly and cartelized oligarchy control not only the fabrication and flow of goods from human labor, but the preponderant means of manufacturing thought and feeling as well. As men dwell in decaying warrens and search hungrily for work, other men, mastered by industry, convert billions of hours of toil into armaments to blot out trillions of hours of toil. The greatest power man knows is that which tenders or withholds his food, or speaks of death. This is the power democracy confronts.

### Bitter Contest Necessary to Counter Fascist Leadership

Just as it has always meant, today democracy means a fight. It means pushing from the bottom, taking the social lag out of the congresses of the people, graduating minority into majority, making lobbies less eloquent than mass meetings. It means that special interests, to subvert systems of progress, put forward barren pursuits and methods of stultification for adoption by the mass, and it means that the mass, on pain of loss of all rights to mold conditions of living, resists them passionately. It means that growing mass participation in social functions is a bitter engagement, a contest backed up to the abyss of fascism, with every step toward safety marking a crucial new form of social evolution. It means, in this fateful day of world politics, in order to counter authoritarian leadership which drives toward a permanent expropriation from the mass of all social tools, the elevation of a mass leadership armed with vast voluntary centralization of power.

Democracy distinguishes sharply between aggressor and victim, violating and violated, on the basis of opposition to or support of the total process. Democracy, militantly and implacably, with the immediacy of the need of the mass for every decency, halts and sterilizes all barbarism, all regressions, throughout the world. Steadily dissolving restrictions on movements of thoughts and things, Democracy promotes the internationalization of the mass, while still it encourages specialization, cultural and economic, so that differences in peoples are expressed in their need of sharing and in their exploiting potentials of creativity for further sharing.



March, 1939

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

## AFT Analyzes Proposed Bills for Federal Aid

(Continued from page 4)  
mined educational need and relative taxpaying ability. It is computed by the following formula:

State's Index of Educational Load

85 Per cent of State's Index of Financial Ability

The index of educational load of each state is defined as the "percentage that the number of inhabitants five to nineteen years of age, inclusive, of that state is of the total number of such inhabitants of all the States: Provided, That in computing such percentage, in order to take account of educational costs due to sparsity of population, each rural inhabitant five to nineteen years of age, inclusive, shall be counted as one and four-tenths inhabitants."

The index of financial ability of each state is defined as the "percentage that the financial ability of that State is of the total financial ability of all the States with respect to the support of public education. The Secretary of the Treasury shall estimate annually the financial ability of the respective States to support education and certify such estimate to the Commissioner of Public Education, as soon as feasible after the enactment of this Act." In making out a financial estimation, the Treasury Department will develop an index of revenue that can be raised in the respective states from a uniform tax plan, utilizing the following:

1. The wealth and total income of the respective states, the total net incomes of over \$5,000 but less than \$25,000 in the respective states, and the total net incomes of \$25,000 and over in the respective states.
2. The total population, rural population, and urban population of the respective states.
3. The total motor-vehicle registrations in the respective states.
4. The total value added by manufacture in the respective states.
5. The total farm cash income in the respective states.
6. The total gross postal receipts in the respective states.
7. The total retail trade in the respective states.

### Educational Load and Financial Ability Estimated Annually

Estimates of both educational load and financial ability will be compiled annually. There are disparities of different types within the states. Where most of America's children are, there is little wealth. Where most of the wealth is, there are few children. California, a wealthy state, has considerably more adults than children of the present standard school census age, five to nineteen years inclusive; while Mississippi, a poor state, has considerably more children than adults in the same classification. The proportionate educational burden of the twelve poorer states is nearly 60 per cent greater than that of the twelve richer states; whereas their per capita tax-paying ability is only one-half as great.

### Conservation

"Here we have conservation in its broadest aspect—the conservation of the American Nation as a functioning society of human beings. It is here, in the relationship between the people and their representatives, that the mischievous hand of a powerful and unscrupulous propaganda can wreck the processes of representative Government. What proportion of the keenest brains in America—not the best, but the keenest—what proportion of the keenest brains in America are devoted to making Government function for the people, and what proportion to keeping it from functioning for the people? Answer this, and you answer the question: Where lies the danger to America?"

Harold L. Ickes

But there are other factors to be considered. Some states have unusual problems which would enter into the amount of their appropriation. For instance, California, despite the high proportion of its taxable wealth to educational load, has a large group of itinerant farmers, whole families which follow the crops or travel up and down the state (often into adjoining states, further complicating the problem) during the fruit-picking season. It is necessary that their children should have adequate schooling, even if teachers traveling with them is the only solution. Similarly in certain cities and sections of the country it is found that for about three months of the year there is a noticeable influx of families with children who leave again at regular periods every year. This necessitates additional facilities or teachers for short periods. These are only a few of the problems. At present there is no one in a position to accurately estimate the exact amount of money any state or any one community within that state will be apportioned.

### Summary of Bills and Plan for Federal Aid to Education

In summing up the bills and the plan of federal aid to education we may say:

1. It is the recognized necessity of the Federal Government, in stepping in and counseling the states on their educational liabilities, to take into account the diversities in the states in regard to child population.
2. To do this on a basis of necessity of government to referee and fix eligibility to get money, according to states' financial ability to support education, as well as other objective features, so that the Federal Government will really stand as an equalizer of educational opportunity.

In the "Statement of Policy" of S. 1305 it is said: "It is the primary purpose of this Act to assist in equalizing educational opportunities, among and within the States, insofar as the grants-in-aid to the States herein authorized will permit, without Federal control over the educational policies of States and localities."

The primary criticism of the original Harrison-Fletcher Bill was that it lacked this equalizing factor. Equalization is achieved in the new bill while the states still have a free hand in shaping their own educational policies.

## Policies Committee Forges New Program

### N.Y.C. Local 537 Makes Many Gains

By Abraham Edel,  
Educational Policies Committee  
Local 537

The new system of administration under which the several colleges of the City of New York have been operating since October 1 is one of the greatest experiments in educational democracy in American colleges today.

A major factor in these reforms was the active campaigning of the College Teachers Union over a period of two years, first as a section of Local 5, and then as the separate Local 537.

### Main Steps in Campaign by College Teachers Union

1. *The development of the democracy program.*—This involved wide discussion, in the Union Committee, in chapter meetings, and membership meetings, of principles and special issues. Reports were issued on special points, such as how to treat a probationer or what kinds of department committees to set up. These were several times revised. Union members in many departments began to assume more active roles in departmental affairs and in a number of cases democratic procedures became established within the autocratic framework. The growing Union program was tested and revised in the light of such experience. The example proved very contagious. By the time the Union formally adopted its program on departmental democracy in January, 1938, there had been more than a year of wide discussion and considerable experimentation. The growth of the program was thus integrated with the growth of the movement to achieve it.

2. *Cooperation with other organizations.*—This was attempted even in the stage of working out the program. The Union called an informal conference of college-teacher organizations, such as local staff associations and the American Association of University Professors. This group worked out a program covering faculty organization, participation in the fashioning of the budget, selection of administrative officers, and so forth. This was the beginning of firm cooperation with some of the organizations represented. In the campaign which followed joint bulletins were frequently issued.

### Three Forms of Campaign for By-law Revision

3. *Starting the campaign for by-law revision.*—The campaign took three forms. One was the intensification within departments of the drive for more democratic procedures. Every forward step was publicized. Another was wide publicizing of the evils of the old system. A third was appeal to the trustees. The emergence of a liberal bloc in the Board of Higher Education was a crucial factor. This was the result of a realignment of forces in the city's politics, particularly the growing influence of labor. A number of Mayor LaGuardia's appointees recognized the need for a major overhauling, and took the lead in the task. Open hearings were held by a special Board committee at various stages in its working out of plans for reorganization.

4. *The issue becomes city-wide.*—At the hearings lines were drawn sharply. Pressure was brought to bear to delay or emasculate the plan. This ranged from personal expression of opinion and formal petitions, to the cry of communism raised in the public press. The Union obtained the support of trade unions and progressive groups in the community, whose solid voice balanced the clamor on the other side.

5. *An educational forum as a step in the campaign.*—In the midst of the campaign the Union held a forum on "Democracy and Higher Education." It served to clarify the educational issues involved. Its several panel discussions showed that teachers would have the tasks of working out standards of competence, of revising the curriculum to

suit student and community needs, of working out a plan for greater student participation in college affairs, and so forth. The forum showed that the struggle that was taking place was not a fight for power, but a justified demand by college teachers for a share in the responsibilities of education.

### Steps Necessary to Solve Remaining Major Problem

The by-laws finally adopted were a definite victory for democracy in college administration although the Union did not win every point in its program. Further democratic extension will come as a consequence of the functioning of the new system. For example when a vacancy occurred for the presidency of Brooklyn College, an elected faculty committee was set up to cooperate with the Board in considering candidates.

The major problem remaining is that of securing the fruits of this reorganization in terms of student, staff, and community welfare. The Educational Policies Committee has proposed the following specific steps:

1. *Analysis of the functioning of the democratic system.*—A series of bulletins will be published on the techniques of organization being employed in departments and faculties throughout the four colleges. These bulletins will also criticize the functioning of the system in the light of the Union's program. Changes in the by-laws will be recommended as they are found desirable in practice.

2. *Extension of the system to the non-instructional staff.*—The Union is seeking to have non-teaching departments, such as the library, the registrar's office, the student guidance departments, and such categories of workers as laboratory assistants, included in the democratic setup. Their omission is one of the deficiencies of the present by-laws.

3. *Encouraging wide discussion of objectives.*—This was begun at a second forum held in December, 1938, at which Professor Harold Laski of the University of London spoke on "The Place of the Teacher in the Modern State," and the Honorable Ordway Tead, chairman of the Board of Higher Education, spoke on "The Place of the Democratic Idea in Education." There were seminars on "What Is Scholarship?" "Shall Universities in a Democracy Indocinate?" "What Rule Shall the Colleges Play in Community Affairs?" "Vocational Versus Cultural Values in the Curriculum," and "Who Shall Control Educational Policies?" The proceedings of the forum will be published shortly. Monthly curriculum forums are being planned as a regular part of the Union's educational work.

4. *Extending the gains.*—Great interest has been shown in the developments at the city colleges by members of the staffs at private universities, and a number of tendencies toward democracy there have been strengthened. In some of them committees are already at work investigating the possibilities of increased democratization, or dealing with specific problems of procedure that have arisen. The Local plans to issue a pamphlet on its program shortly as an aid to other colleges and other locals.

### Three Points Emphasized as Result of Union's Experience

Three general lessons stand out from our experience. The first is that the development of a Union program is not the work of a small group, but a democratic cooperative activity of all Union members, in both action and reflection. The second is the necessity of seeing clearly the educational consequences of any program. The third is the crucial importance of making large groups in the community conscious of their roles and their interests in the functioning of higher education, and therefore even in so apparently local and technical a problem as that of how the faculty shall be constituted.

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## Teachers Union in Action

### Pension Primer Issued

The pension committee of Local 5 (New York City) has revised *The Pension Primer*, a 48-page booklet dealing with the problem of pensions. The committee, headed by Samuel Greenfield, chairman, includes the following union members: David Ayman, Leo Gross, Abraham C. Heller, Helen Ney, Laurence Prendergast, Herman Ruchlis, Erling Tholfsen, Max F. Weiss and Helen Wortsman. Copies of the primer may be obtained by sending 10 cents to The Pension Committee, 114 East 16th Street, New York City.

### Amlin Edits Pamphlet

*Americanism* is the title of a sixteen-page pamphlet published by Charles Amlin, member of Local 430 (Los Angeles) and social-studies teacher at the Roosevelt High School in Los Angeles. The pamphlet, which is a series of quotations from Lincoln, Jefferson, Jackson, Washington, and others, can be obtained by writing Union-member Amlin at 1124 Huttington Dr. and enclosing five cents. Quantity lots may be had at the rate of fifty for one dollar.

### Seek Free Textbooks

Backed by the Central Trades Council the Belleville Federation of Teachers, Belleville, Ill., is sponsoring a drive for free textbooks in the school system in East St. Louis. The board of education has decided to submit the question to a public vote in the April election. Six teachers have received salary raises of \$50.00 each as a result of a campaign by the local union.

### Rural Teachers

The St. Louis County Teachers Federation, Local 508, is considering revision of its sick-leave plan, according to Harold Rise, secretary-treasurer. The union, composed solely of rural teachers and one of the few of its kind in the country, is growing rapidly, he reported. A goal of 100 per cent enrollment has been set by the next school year.

### Erie, Pa., Holds Banquet

Members of the Teachers Union of Erie, Pa., are supporting a state bill which would raise teachers' salaries in certain districts and a bill which would make it a criminal offense to disseminate information causing racial or religious hatred. The Union's annual spring banquet was held on March 7. Mr. Warren was elected corresponding secretary to replace Mary Brown.

### Lawler Makes Study

Dr. Eugene S. Lawler, member of Local 460 (Evanston, Ill.), is the co-author with Dr. Paul R. Mort of a new study published by the Advisory Committee on Education. The title of the study is "Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education" and it may be obtained from the government printing office for twenty cents.

## Cincinnati to Present Two Talks In Series; Forms College Section

Two final lectures in the series on "Better Schools for Democracy" will be given this month under the sponsorship of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, Local 479.

On April 13 Paul Kelly, classroom teacher at University School, will speak on "Are Teachers People?" The following week James D. Stover, assistant superintendent of the Cincinnati Public Schools, will talk on "An Evaluation."

The series was opened March 1 by Dr. Goodwin Watson of Teachers College, Columbia University, who spoke on "Psychological

## Chicago Union Joins Medical Aid Center

The Chicago Teachers' Union has signed a written agreement with the Civic Medical Center which provides complete medical care for Union members, teachers, and their families for \$30.00 a year. Single teachers may get this service for \$18.00 a year.

The contract also provides for some Union control, supervision, and administration. The service allows an unlimited number of office calls and periodic medical examinations plus a reduced rate on house calls. Union member C. C. Crew of Austin High School, is the Union administrator of the plan.

### Active in Politics

The Local is playing an active role in the current mayoralty campaign, because of the importance of the school issue.

On February 4, more than 3,000 members of the local heard the three candidates for mayor and the incumbent, Mayor Edward J. Kelly, in a meeting at the Auditorium Theater. The purpose of the meeting was to hear directly from the candidates on their policy regarding the schools.

### Credit Union Grows

The local Credit Union reported a phenomenal growth for the year with present assets totaling nearly \$100,000 compared with \$21,000 of a year ago. During December the local admitted 86 new members.

More than 2,000 friends and members of the Chicago Teachers' Union attended the annual card party at the Sherman Hotel in February. Bridge, Chinese checkers, and bunco were enjoyed until about 11 o'clock when the center of the floor was cleared for dancing.

The Union established an important precedent when President John Fewkes was granted a leave of absence by the board of education to work on problems of the Chicago Teachers' Union.

## Rockford Teachers Receive Back Pay

Divisional back pay, amounting to 3.69 per cent, was distributed to Rockford teachers last month, following a drive by the Rockford Federation of Teachers of Rockford, Ill.

The local is supporting the Baker-Stuttel dual unit bill, which is now before the state legislature. The bill would provide an increase in educational funds.

### Backs Wagner Act

The Cheyenne, Wyo., Teachers Union has gone on record vigorously opposing the Burke and Walsh bills which seek to amend the Wagner Act, according to A. L. Buck, secretary of the local and head of the A. F. of L. Central Labor Union legislative committee.

Foundations of the Democratic School." The lectures are open to non-members and the general public, without charge.

At its February meeting, Local 479 voted to call on the board of education, urging patronage of union book companies only. Another resolution urged the Central Labor Council, school board, and city council to indorse the program of federal aid for education.

The local announced formation of a university section at the University of Cincinnati and creation of two new committees, a dues committee and an educational policies committee.

## WHY I JOINED

I TAKE BOTH PRIDE AND PLEASURE in being considered for membership in the New York College Teachers Union, Local 537, for these reasons:



Ned H. Dearborn, Dean  
Division of General Education  
New York University

First, because teachers who identify themselves with unions thereby identify the profession with the cause of American labor. The importance of labor in the structure of our democracy compels a consideration of labor in the operations of democracy. I construe labor as including professional workers as well as wage earners and hence believe teachers add to the dignity of their work by such an affiliation as the Union represents.

Second, because the Union movement is just as important in colleges and universities as in public schools for the needed democratization of our educational system. This Union has given ample evidence of its usefulness in helping to define American democracy and to find new and effective methods of democratic practice in our schools.

## N. J. Teachers Win Pay Increases in 4 Towns

Four New Jersey communities have voted increments in teachers' salaries, and favorable action is pending in two other towns.

Newark's annual school budget, including the regular increments for teachers, was adopted by the board of education last month. The mayor, in his vote of approval, declared that annual increments are a part of the salary schedule which was the basis of teacher employment, and payment of these increments is only an act of justice.

Passaic's school board acted favorably on a budget which contained \$44,000, representing a four per cent salary restoration and \$26,000 for teachers' increments.

Elizabeth's board of school estimate voted pay increases totaling \$31,698 for the 500 teachers in its schools, partly compensating for increments omitted in the seven-year period from 1930 to 1937.

The Verona board of education has ratified a resolution providing \$5,000 for salary raises.

## Midwest Locals Hold WPA Meeting Plan AFT Drive

Unemployed and work-relief professionals must organize to protect and preserve American democracy was the keynote of an all-day WPA educators' conference held at the Chicago Teachers' Union recently.

Representatives from the 23 counties of northern Illinois were present. Speakers included Dr. Harry T. Fultz, Illinois WPA education director; Mary Herrick, A. F. of T. vice president; William Jones, president of the Union of Chicago Teachers of Adult Education; and Mrs. Anna Mae Brady.

A committee of seven was elected to carry out an organization campaign in Decatur, Bloomington, Peoria, DeKalb, and Rock Island County. The members of the committee are G. Harry Anderson, chairman; Norman Brown, secretary; Irving F. Friedman, treasurer; Edward Kotche, Rockford; Beatrice Gruner, Moline; Grace Potter, DeKalb; and William Jones, Chicago.

### La Brant to Speak

Dr. Lou La Brant, of Ohio State University and a member of the A.F. of T. local there (No. 438), is scheduled to be a speaker at the April meeting of the Seattle, Wash., Local (No. 200).

Blue Island (Ill.) Community High School closed its doors this month, when voters failed to approve additional taxes.

## ELYRIA SETS UP SPEAKERS UNIT

The Elyria, Ohio, Teachers' Federation (No. 334) has set up a speakers' bureau under the direction of A. T. Smith of Elyria High School, who is chairman of the Educational Policies Committee.

Lillian Herstein, director of lectures in the Chicago City Junior Colleges, was the guest speaker at the fifth anniversary party of the Elyria Union on March 28.

## Cambridge Issues Report on Tenure

Establishment of a tenure system and a democratic procedure based upon the principle of departmental autonomy is recommended in a report on appointment and tenure, published recently by the Cambridge Union of University Teachers, Local 431, at Harvard University.

The four-page printed report carries proposed rules of tenure for all ranks of faculty members, and also recommends departmental processes in appointments and promotions.

Copies of the report, published this month, may be obtained from Arnold Iserman, secretary, Cambridge Union of University Teachers, Phillips Brooks House, Cambridge, Mass.

## Local 5 Plans New Award in Education

The individual who has done the most for education for democracy will be awarded a plaque by the Educational Policies Committee of Local 5, New York City, at its Educational Conference on April 29. The winner of the plaque will be chosen by J. Raymond Walsh, Floyd W. Reeves, William Hinkley, and Mrs. Ada Whitney.

"A Living Newspaper" will be presented to the conference by the Child Welfare Committee as one of the highlights of the conference. Other events scheduled are a model lesson on teaching democratic ideals by the Social Studies Committee and a round-table on Teaching Curriculum Building by the Elementary Schools Committee.

### Sponsors Legislative Program

Erika Mann, author of *School for Barbarians*, and Dr. D. A. Wilkerson, of Howard University, spoke to the New York Teachers Union (No. 5) on February 5 on the subject, "Racial and Religious Intolerance: A Menace to Education."

The Union is sponsoring eight bills in the New York legislature, including bills on absence funds, a bond issue for school buildings, reduction of hours in the vocational schools, and a nursery-school bill which has the support of the State Department of Education. Dr. Bella Dodd will represent Local 5 at a special meeting which has been called by the New York Kindergarten Association to consider state aid for kindergartens.

### Indorse Resolution

The Union, under the leadership of President Charles Hendley, is pushing the Bonaschi Resolution which will guarantee fair and equal treatment to all teachers' organizations and stresses the right of teachers to organize without discrimination and intimidation. Labor organizations representing more than 1,700,000 people have endorsed this resolution which has been introduced to the New York City Board of Education.

## Indianapolis Backs Health Legislation

The Indianapolis Teachers Union is concentrating this year on a campaign to improve health conditions in the city's classrooms. Among the items in its drive is legislation to regulate the construction of future classrooms.

The proposed legislation would make illegal the construction of buildings in which classroom conditions could not be regulated to produce a relative humidity of at least 40 per cent and a light index of at least 20 foot candles.

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